

“A DELIGHT AND A BURDEN” (HES., *Sc.* 400):  
WINE AND WINE-DRINKING IN ARCHAIC GREECE

*Abstract:* The purpose of this paper is to examine the major patterns of wine-drinking practices and their ramifications (social, political, cultural) in archaic Greece. Due primarily to the emergence of the *symposion* and other forms of commensality as vital components of social interaction, wine-drinking acquired new significance in the economically developing and politically polarized archaic communities. Archaic Greeks actively engaged in wine-drinking on a number of occasions and contexts. As practices and contexts of wine-drinking multiplied and changed, so did ideas about its meaning and responses to what were perceived as problematic aspects of wine-consumption. Archaic poetry and vase iconography suggest two major elite drinking paradigms advocating inebriation and moderation. These paradigms were closely intertwined with wider aristocratic discourses on leisure, social differentiation and political power.

Wine has been produced and consumed in the Greek world since at least the Bronze Age. However, it is during the archaic period that it is for the first time possible to document more thoroughly the practices and symbolism associated with the consumption of wine. The purpose of this paper is to examine the major patterns of wine-drinking practices and their ramifications (social, political, cultural) in the communities of archaic Greece. Due to a number of factors, but most importantly because of the emergence of the *symposion* and other forms of commensality as vital components of social interaction, wine-drinking acquires new significance in the economically developing and politically polarized archaic cities. Wine was consumed by individuals of all social backgrounds. As practices and contexts of wine-drinking multiplied and changed, so did ideas about its meaning and responses to what were perceived as problematic aspects of wine-consumption. Overall, wine-drinking practices often articulated a wide range of discourses about leisure, social differentiation and political power, and as a result constitute an excellent entry-point in any attempt to interpret a range of social and political developments in the archaic world. That is because, as the editors of a seminal collection on alcoholic drinking aptly put it, “alcohol can indeed serve as a revealing stain on the slide in the historian’s microscope, highlighting the structures and relations of a society and the processes of stasis and change”.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Barrows & Room (1991b) 1.

## EVIDENCE FOR WINE-DRINKING IN ARCHAIC GREECE

Before we proceed with an examination of wine-drinking practices in archaic Greece, a few brief remarks on the relevant sources are in order. The bulk of the source material for wine-drinking practices during the period in question derives from poetry, vase-painting iconography, inscriptions as well as some late literary sources that fairly accurately reflect archaic conditions. Often reflective of moral and political controversies, the source material, especially the corpus of archaic lyric, iambic and elegiac poetry, reveals a complex pastiche of information on the practices and value of wine-drinking. However, one should be aware of the potentially ambiguous authorial voices as well as the different objectives and contexts of performance of archaic poetic genres. Much of extant archaic poetry is sympotic, i.e. was composed for performance at drinking parties.<sup>2</sup> Other archaic poetic genres such as epinicians and paeans were performed in front of wider audiences in post-victory communal celebrations.<sup>3</sup> The diversity in the performance settings and target audiences suggests that perceptions of wine-drinking were current among a wide range of social groups. With that in mind, it should also be noted that at times aspects of wine-drinking practices and their consequences are quite possibly exaggerated, especially in connection with the drinking habits of particular individuals or the effects of extreme intoxication on personal behavior. Moreover, some ideas about the nature and meaning of alcoholic drinking, sometimes encountered in the works of the same author, appear at face value to be contradictory. Nonetheless, these limitations are for the most part circumstantial and there is no convincing reason to believe that on balance archaic sources grossly misrepresent actual drinking habits or ideas about drinking.

An additional problem that a researcher of wine and wine-drinking in archaic Greece faces is the lack of a specific historical background for the majority of the pertinent sources. With the exceptions of Mytilene during the late seventh and early sixth centuries and Athens during the sixth century, it is almost impossible to reconstruct in any detail the

<sup>2</sup> For archaic poetry genres and context of performance see West (1974); Vetta (1983); Bowie (1986); Gentili (1988); Stehle (1997); Carey (2009).

<sup>3</sup> For epinician performances see e.g. Heath (1988); Carey (1989), (1991); Burnett (1989); Kurke (1991) 1-12 and *passim*; Lefkowitz (1991) 191-201; Morgan (1993). The debate as to whether epinicians were performed by choruses or single singers does not affect the arguments presented in this paper.

drinking culture and the concomitant social and political environment of any other community in archaic Greece. Nonetheless, there is a considerable amount of source material on the subject of wine and wine-drinking which dates from the seventh to the early fifth centuries and covers a wide geographical spectrum within the Greek world. Even though one should beware not to conflate all practices and ideologies in a comprehensive 'archaic' template, but whenever possible account for regional variations and historical developments, the popularity of wine-drinking practices and the fragmentary nature of extant sources at times favor a broader scope. As a result, very often what is lost in topical detail is compensated in the delineation of valuable overarching patterns of drinking behavior that emerge from a detailed collation of the sources. Moreover, often the nature of the sources themselves is more conducive to a synoptic interpretation. For instance the *Theognidea* is an elegiac corpus which according to one interpretation "synthesizes the diverse local traditions of each major city-state into a unified Panhellenic model that suits most city-states but corresponds exactly to none".<sup>4</sup> Similar arguments can be constructed with regard to other archaic poetry, e.g. the heroic epic cycles.

Finally, it should be noted that the overwhelming majority of archaic sources for wine-drinking, and especially the literary remains, were written by authors who were demonstrably members of the social and at times political elite of their communities. Can these sources be trusted as reliable testimonia of wine-drinking perceptions and practices, especially of the non-elites? This is a vexing issue that does not admit a straightforward answer. However, recent scholarship argues that while many archaic authors echo the traditional aristocratic ideology and worldview, other archaic poets at times adopt a 'middling' ideology, i.e. they seem to espouse and portray views that are more akin to the growing trend towards egalitarianism that characterizes many facets of life in communities across archaic Greece.<sup>5</sup> Even though this model of interpretation of archaic poetry does not always acknowledge the full complexity of social conditions in archaic Greek communities, it nonetheless appears to be in keeping with wider historical developments. Whether or

<sup>4</sup> Nagy (1999) 1-11 (quotation p. 7). Even though I am aware of the problems associated with the authorship and composition of the *Theognidea*, for the sake of convenience I refer to "Theognis" or the "poet" of the corpus to designate the collective authorial voice and similar ideological disposition of the poets who most likely contributed to the *Theognidea*.

<sup>5</sup> Kurke (1999); Morris (2000).

not one concurs with a particular assessment of archaic authorial voices, for our purposes one major implication of recent scholarship on archaic poetry is that broad patterns of archaic drinking perceptions and practices must be examined, to the extent that it is possible, in connection with wider contemporaneous social, political and cultural developments. Hence contrary to some recent work that adopts a diachronic perspective to Greek wine-drinking, this essay will attempt to interpret archaic evidence for wine-drinking vis-à-vis conditions in the archaic world.

#### WINE-DRINKING OCCASIONS IN ARCHAIC GREECE

As early as the Homeric epics,<sup>6</sup> archaic Greek literature portrays wine-drinking as a socially integrated activity that was practiced by Greeks of all social backgrounds. In the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* wine is valued for its perceived nutritional and invigorating qualities, its indispensable use in libations, and its role in generating camaraderie and group cohesion. Following Homer, archaic Greek literature is certainly more diverse in scope. Nonetheless, wine-drinking remains a major theme and certain patterns of drinking practices and perceptions, as depicted in archaic literature, clearly emerge. Moreover, archaeological evidence, mostly in the form of drinking material culture and vase iconography, further testifies to the popularity of wine in the archaic Greek world.

In archaic Greece wine was consumed in a variety of contexts. The symbolic and ideological implications of the different paradigms of wine-drinking as well as the beliefs regarding the invigorating, palliative and intoxicating qualities of wine will be examined in greater detail in subsequent sections of this paper. The present segment will outline the most prominent contexts and identify the major participants of wine-drinking occasions in archaic Greece.

Due to the upper class bias of most of the literary sources the most commonly attested wine-drinking occasion is the elite *symposion*.<sup>7</sup> In its

<sup>6</sup> Homeric wine-drinking and commensality have received much attention in recent years. For wine-drinking see especially Andò (2004) and Papakonstantinou (2009). For Homeric feasts see van Wees (1995); Rundin (1996); Sherratt (2004). To avoid duplication with this scholarship, in this essay I employ the evidence of the Homeric epics in a limited fashion and concentrate instead on the archaic evidence from Hesiod to the early fifth century.

<sup>7</sup> For an introduction to the Greek *symposion* see the studies in Murray (1990a). See also Dentzer (1982); Murray (1983a) and (1983b); Lombardo (1989); Slater (1991); Schmitt Pantel (1992); Stein-Hölkeskamp (1992); Murray and Tecuşan (1995).

archaic and classical form, a *symposion* is essentially a drinking party consisting of a relatively small number of men who share a bond based on friendship, social class and at times political affiliation. As it has been frequently noted, *symposia* and other forms of drinking commensality also served as platforms for the advancement of social and political agendas. The earliest literary attestation of the term *symposion* is in fr. 70 Lobel-Page of Alcaeus, but the origins of the institution must be traced back to the aristocratic banquets of the warrior-elites of Bronze Age and Homeric Greece.<sup>8</sup> Comparable institutions existed in the Near East and Etruria,<sup>9</sup> and in that sense various facets of the Greek *symposion* can be considered as part of an elite Mediterranean cultural *koine*.<sup>10</sup>

Besides the *symposion*, archaic sources describe other communal and more encompassing, in terms of the gender and number of participants, drinking occasions. Religious ceremonies, weddings and funerals constituted prominent occasions where communal feasts occurred.<sup>11</sup> Epinician feasts are also well attested for the late archaic and early classical period.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, some sources allude to civic messes in Sparta (Alcm. frs 95 and 98 Page) and Mytilene (Sapph. fr. 203 Lobel-Page), in the latter case in connection with wine-drinking.<sup>13</sup> There is also substantial archaeological evidence, in the form of drinking pottery deposits and remains of drinking/sympotic rooms, primarily for a sub-category of public feasting and drinking associated with ritual. More specifically, deposits of substantial amounts of drinking pottery in a number of archaic sanctuaries (e.g. the sanctuaries of Zeus at Mt Apesas in Corinth and Mt. Hymettos in Athens)<sup>14</sup> would indicate that ritual drinking and dining was a frequent practice at these sites, presumably in connection

<sup>8</sup> For elite feasting in Bronze Age and Homeric Greece in addition to the studies in n. 6 see also Wright (2004) and Hitchcock e.a. (2008).

<sup>9</sup> Kyrieleis (1969); Fehr (1971); Dentzer (1971) and (1982); Boardman (1990); Burkert (1991); Carter (1997); Barker and Rasmussen (2000) 248-251.

<sup>10</sup> For cultural interaction and the concept of the pan-Mediterranean elite *koine* in the archaic period see Mazzarino (1947); Morris (1992); Kurke (1992); Morris (2000); Riva (2005).

<sup>11</sup> Hes., *Op.* 722-723, possibly a religious occasion; Thgn. 773-779, festival of Apollo; Pi., *P.* 4.293-294, and *P.* 5.77-81, quite possibly referring to public banquets at an Apollo festival in Cyrene (cf. Hdt. 4.158 and Call., *Ap.* 88ff.); B. *Paeon* 1.79, occasion uncertain. Archil. fr. 13.1-2 West, funeral. Archil. fr. 124b West and fr. 194 West could possibly refer to communal festivities with wine-drinking, but their exact interpretation is uncertain.

<sup>12</sup> Pi., *N.* 9.48-53; *I.* 3.10-11; B. *Epinician* 3.15-6; 10.52-55; 11.10-12.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. also the Cretan *andreia*, Montecchi (2007).

<sup>14</sup> Langdon (1976); Morgan (1990) 27ff. Cf. Goldstein (1978) for further examples.

with cultic activities. The same broad conclusion, i.e. that wine-drinking constituted an organic part of communal feasting, can be reached through an examination of the architectural remains of commensality rooms in archaic sanctuaries as well as in other public buildings where commensality probably occurred.<sup>15</sup>

Drinking banquets, private and public, were often concluded with a *komos*. It should be noted that in archaic and classical Greece the term *komos* was applied to a number of celebratory and festive contexts. What is of interest to us is the *komos* as an extension of a wine-drinking occasion, i.e. usually a revelrous procession that carried explicit associations to Dionysiac cult.<sup>16</sup> In this context, even though in late archaic and classical vase-painting the *komos* is frequently depicted as consisting primarily of drunken and sexually licentious men or satyrs, the literary sources suggest that at times a *komos* was more closely connected to other communal celebratory activities. Hence in the Hesiodic *Shield*, 270-285 a *komos* is depicted as part of a wedding procession. The procession consists of the bride being led to the groom on a wagon, a group of carousing slaves carrying torches, choruses of men and women performing music and songs, and a group of young men reveling (κώμαζον, 281), singing and dancing. Even though this passage does not allude to wine-consumption during a wedding procession, others do. Sapph. fr. 44 Lobel-Page describes the festivities preceding the wedding of Hector and Andromache in Troy. The procession included singing and songs, and a fragmentary part of the papyrus mentions “mixing bowls and cups” (l. 29), a strong indication that wine-drinking was mentioned in the poem as part of the festivities.<sup>17</sup>

Non-elite drinking practices that were conducted outside institutional and cultic contexts receive less attention in the extant literary sources and excavation reports and hence they are more difficult to identify. In the treatise *On the Nature of Animals* (17.37) Aelian reports a story attributed by Crates of Pergamum, a scholar of the Hellenistic period, to a poem by the late seventh/early sixth-century poet Stesichorus (fr. 280 Page). According to Aelian this poem includes a scene of sixteen agricultural laborers drinking

<sup>15</sup> See Börker (1983); Bergquist (1990).

<sup>16</sup> *h. Hom.* 4 (Hermes) 480-481 suggests that a *komos* was a stage of a *dais* (banquet). For the archaic *komos*, including representations of *komoi* in late archaic vase iconography, see Ghiron-Bistagne (1976), especially 207-297; Lissarrague (1990), *passim*; Pütz (2007) 121-150 and *passim*; Rothwell (2007) 7-8 and *passim*.

<sup>17</sup> For the archaic and early classical *komos* see also Anacr. fr. 97 Page; Thgn. 885-886; 939-942; 1207-1208; Pratin. fr. 1 Page; Pi., *O.* 4.9; 6.18; 6.98-99; 8.9-10; *P.* 5.22; 8.20; 8.70; *N.* 3.4-5; 11.28-29; *I.* 6.58; 8.1-5.

many cups of wine during a break from work. No actual fragments of the poem survive but if the attribution of the story to a Stesichorus poem is accurate the theme of extensive wine-consumption by the working classes during agricultural or other manual labor need not be doubted since it has parallels in Homer (*Il.* 18.541-546) and other integrated drinking societies.<sup>18</sup> Such practices were probably related to the belief, also attested since Homer (e.g. *Il.* 6.258-262, 9.705-706, 19.160-161), that wine had invigorating and nutritive qualities. Besides the alleged Stesichorus poem, a fragment (11 Irigoin) by Bacchylides also ostensibly refers to a non-elite drinking context. The story is mythological and Athen. 11.500 ab suggests that in this instance the speaker is addressing the Dioscuri inviting them to commensality. The fragment's emphasis on the lack of material wealth suggests a non-elite drinking occasion but the exact context is far from clear.

The main consumers of wine in the archaic Greek world were men. Nevertheless, there is evidence that in the archaic period women as well consumed wine in certain contexts.<sup>19</sup> Female prostitutes (Anacr. fr. 427) and entertainers (at times slaves) are sometimes depicted as drinking wine in the course of *symposia*, although it should be noted that these literary portrayals should not be considered representative of the norms regulating the consumption of wine by other groups of women.<sup>20</sup> Religious celebrations<sup>21</sup> and weddings<sup>22</sup> quite possibly constituted prominent drinking occasions for the women whose life revolved around the *oikos*.<sup>23</sup>

#### DRINKING, LUXURY AND POLITICS IN ARCHAIC COMMENSALITY

It is now time to examine in more detail two central attributes of elite wine-drinking in archaic Greece, namely the material culture associated with sympotic drinking practices and the interrelationship between drinking

<sup>18</sup> See examples in Papakonstantinou (2009) 22-23.

<sup>19</sup> For female commensality and wine-drinking in general see Burton (1998); for wine-consumption by women in the Homeric epics see Papakonstantinou (2009) 7-8. Parker (1993) 345 believes that "wine was present at some of the celebrations at which Sappho sang".

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Kurke (1999) 175ff. For representations of *hetairai* in Athenian vases cf. Peschel (1987) 27-87.

<sup>21</sup> In the *h. Hom.* 1 (Dionysus) 17 (= West (2003) 1, D 8) Dionysus is called "women-frenzier" (γυναιμανέζ), a reference to the intoxicating effect of wine on female drinkers, or to the boisterous behavior of women during their participation in Dionysiac rites or both.

<sup>22</sup> Hes., *Sc.* 270-285 and Sapph. fr. 44 Lobel-Page.

<sup>23</sup> In an isolated reference, Anacr. fr. 110 Page refers to a wine-drinking woman although the context is unclear.



groups, politics and social status. Both of these elements, in addition to the various models of wine-drinking (to be examined in the next section of the present essay) advocated and practiced within the *symposion* and other upper-class drinking occasions, demarcated the drinking of the elites from drinking practices of lower social orders. Moreover, attributes such as production techniques,<sup>24</sup> age,<sup>25</sup> origin and the overall quality of wine often functioned as tokens of the special status of a drinking occasion. In the Homeric *Hymn* 7 (Dionysus) which relates the story of Dionysus' abduction by Etruscan pirates, the reference to "sweet and fragrant wine" (ἡδύποτος ... εὐώδης) which emitted an "ambrosial" smell (35-37) strongly suggests that such wine was considered highly desirable.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, particular appellations were famous and keenly-sought. Prameian wine, which is mentioned in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* (*Il.* 2.639; *Od.* 10.235), was particularly valued by the warrior elite. Similarly, archaic poets often distinguish between luxurious and lesser quality wines. Archilochus (fr. 290 West) compared Naxian wine to nectar and in a different fragment (fr. 2 West) he refers to the consumption, in the context of military service, of "Ismarian" wine, i.e. wine from Ismaros in Thrace.<sup>27</sup> In l. 879 of the *Theognidea* the poet recommends wine from Taygetus in Sparta, possibly for consumption at a *symposion*.

Other archaic sources that do not necessarily reflect a sympotic context also single out certain wines for their quality. Hence Hesiod recommends the consumption of "bibline wine" (βίβλινος οἶνος, *Op.* 589), i.e. a wine which according to scholiasts and lexicographers originated from Thrace.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, Alcman fr. 92 Page refers to an unfired and flowery wine from Πέντε Λόφων as well as wine from five other unidentified locations. The place-names are preserved in isolation but Athenaeus, who mentions them in a section of his *Deipnosophists* devoted to quality wines (1.31c-d), explains that they are all located in Laconia. Finally it

<sup>24</sup> E.g. see Hom., *Od.* 7.122-125 and Hes., *Op.* 609-614 for direct exposition of grapes to the sun before vinification and Wilson (2003) 171 for the attributes, rarity and value of the wine produced in this manner.

<sup>25</sup> Pi., *O.* 9.48 "praise old wine".

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Thebaid fr. 2.4 Bernabé; B. *Encomia* fr. 11, 5 Irigoin.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Suda s.v. Ἰσμαρικὸς οἶνος. Ismarian wine is characterized in *Od.* 9.205-211 as a "divine drink" that possessed a "marvellous" smell that no-one could resist. Cf. *Il.* 9.71-72, where wine from Thrace is stored in the hut of Agamemnon.

<sup>28</sup> The scholiast of *Works and Days* identifies "bibline" with "Pramneian" wine. See Pertusi (1955) 190 Βίβλιμος οἶνος. Cf. Hesychius, s.v. Βίβλιμος. Recent commentators tend to regard "bibline" as a luxury wine. See Petropoulos (1994) 86; Edwards (2004) 55.



should be noted in connection with the value of wine that "jugs of must", presumably of local origin, are valuable enough to function as payment for salary, services, and other contributions in late archaic and early classical laws and decrees from Crete.<sup>29</sup>

In addition to the origin and quality of wine, archaic sources often underscore the use of luxurious sympotic paraphernalia. At the beginning of elite drinking sessions participants often applied perfume on their heads and bodies (see Alc. fr. 50 Lobel-Page; Xenoph. fr. 1.3 West). Moreover, elaborate and expensive drinking cups often accompanied elite or heroic commensality. Examples include "golden cups" (χρυσίαισιν ἐν κυλίκεσσιν, Sapph. fr. 2 Lobel-Page; χρύσεον ἔμπλησεν καλὸν δέπας ἡδέος οἴνου, Thebaid fr. 2.4 Bernabé) "gold-knobbed goblets" (χρυσαστράγαλοι φίαλαι, Sapph. fr. 192 Lobel-Page), "large decorated cups" (κυλίχναις μεγάλαις ποικίλαις, Alc. fr. 346 Lobel-Page), "silver cups" (ἀργύρα τ' ἀνάρ[ι]θμα [ποτή]ρ[ια], Sapph. fr. 44.10 Lobel-Page; ἀργύρεον σκύφον, Hes. fr. 271 Merkelbach-West)<sup>30</sup> and a "shining golden mixing bowl" (κρητῆρα μέγαν χρυσοῖο φαεινὸν, Panyas. fr. 7 Bernabé).<sup>31</sup> In a reference to the game of cottabus Alcaeus refers to Teian cups (fr. 322 Lobel-Page), which perhaps suggests that drinking cups from Teos were fashionable among the drinking elite of Mytilene. Given the geographical position of Teos in Ionia, it is likely that Alcaeus fr. 322 Lobel-Page contains an early allusion to the association, documented more extensively in sixth-century sources,<sup>32</sup> between archaic Greek elite material culture (e.g. clothing, perfumes and

<sup>29</sup> Spensithios decree (*Kadmos* 9 [1970] 124.12-13 = *SEG* 27.631 = *Nomima* I 22), fifty *prochoi* (jars or liquid measures) of must; *IC* IV 79.4-5 (= *Nomima* I 30 = *IGT* no. 154) hundred *prochoi* of must; *IC* IV 77, B3 (= *Nomima* I 49 = *IGT* no. 152) three measures of must; *IC* IV 72, 10.37-39 a *prochous* of wine; *IC* IV 144.4 hundred *prochoi* of must. For wine-consumption and trade in ancient Crete see Chaniotis (1988); Marangou (1999).

<sup>30</sup> This fragment, and possibly fr. 272 Merkelbach-West, almost certainly describe wine-drinking or the use of wine for ceremonial purposes in a royal context.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. also P., *O.* 7.1-4; *N.*, 9.51; 10.43; *I.* 6.40. Moreover, the archaic epic poet Pisander (fr. 11 Bernabé) has Heracles present a drinking goblet (ἄλειστον) as a prize to Telamon. In the Homeric epics, ἄλειςτα are encountered in the context of elite commensality (*Od.* 15.469; 22.9).

<sup>32</sup> See Anacr. fr. 136 Page, λυδοπαθεῖς; Asius fr. 13 Kinkel which describes eastern-style material luxury (garments, ornaments, hairstyles) possibly in sixth-century BC Samos; and the critical assessment of Xenoph. fr. 3 West ἄβροσύνας δὲ μαθόντες ἀνωφελέας παρὰ Λυδῶν. For Xenoph. fr. 3 West see Bowra (1941). For the dramatic date of Asius fr. 13 Kinkel see Bowra (1957). However, Bowra is not necessarily right in claiming that the fragment is not critical of the Samians' extravagance. See also O'Sullivan (1981); Veneri (1984).

jewellery) and an eastern-borne lifestyle.<sup>33</sup> In connection with the last point, one should also note that beginning in the late sixth century BC imitations of eastern-style drinking ware were produced in Athens and used in sympotic contexts.<sup>34</sup>

At the other end of the spectrum, some wines attracted the scorn of archaic poets. In a rare archaic literary reference to a tavern Hippon. fr. 79.18 West refers to ἔρπιν as the object of the trade of a tavern-keeper nicknamed “swindler” (σκότος). Commentators rightly assume that ἔρπις is some kind of a slang term for poor quality wine.<sup>35</sup> Lines 19-20 of the same fragment describe a man in the tavern sweeping the floor with a stock of thorn instead of a broom, an image that suggests abject conditions which are in agreement with the overall downmarket tone of the fragment. Moreover, compared to the abundance of references to the material culture of upper-class drinking, the evidence regarding the accoutrements of drinking bouts by lower social status groups is meager. If the assumption made earlier that a fragment from Bacchylides’ *Encomia* (fr. 11 Irigoin) describes a non-elite (i.e. either lower class or state-sponsored) drinking occasion is accurate, then it is worth noting the reference to “sweet wine in Boeotian cups” (Βοιωτίοισιν ἐν σκύφοισιν). It appears that Boeotian workshops have developed their own regional style of pottery at least since the sixth century BC, but the appeal of these pots was mostly local.<sup>36</sup> It is likely that the reference in B. fr. 11 Irigoin to drinking cups from Boeotia, an archaeologically documented rural heartland<sup>37</sup> which was stereotyped as a cultural backwater in archaic and classical Greece,<sup>38</sup> underscores the rustic character of the drinking occasion and was probably meant to draw a contrast to the more luxurious drinking cups used by the social elite. Assemblages of undecorated, unglazed drinking pots discovered in a number of archaic sites<sup>39</sup> confirm the extensive

<sup>33</sup> For the aristocratic luxurious lifestyle, inspired by eastern models, in archaic Greece see Mazzarino (1947) 186-193 and *passim*; Nenci (1984); Lombardo (1983); Ampolo (1984); Kurke (1992) and (1999); Foxhall (1998).

<sup>34</sup> Miller (1991) 69-71.

<sup>35</sup> See West (1974) 144; Gerber (1999) 415.

<sup>36</sup> Cook (1997) 96-8 and *passim*.

<sup>37</sup> Bintliff & Snodgrass (1985); Hanson (1995) 53.

<sup>38</sup> For a collection of ancient evidence on Boeotian rusticity and philistinism see Roberts (1895). See also Cartledge (2000) 400-401.

<sup>39</sup> E.g. Athenian agora: Young (1939); Brann (1961), (1962); Eretria: Gex (1993). The argument that plain unglazed pottery was probably used in commensality of lower social orders does not necessarily imply that black and red-figure decorated pottery was used only in aristocratic sympotic contexts.

use of unassuming drinking material culture, quite possibly in non-elite drinking occasions.<sup>40</sup>

In addition to wine varieties and drinking material culture, the identity and class background of one's fellow drinkers were instrumental in determining the character and conduct of drinking occasions. In this light, in archaic Greece you are largely who you drink with. In the *Works and Days* Hesiod, a poet who actively advocates the establishment of firm local networks of friends and neighbors who stand in solidarity with each other, advises his brother (342-4) to

Invite your friend to a feast (δαῖτα), but let your enemy be;  
but most importantly invite whoever lives near to you.

In other poets the principle adumbrated by Hesiod acquires overtly political overtones, to the extent that it can be argued that archaic elite drinking occasions were often highly politicized. Politics and other current affairs of the community must have been among the most common topics of conversation during occasions of commensality.<sup>41</sup>

Besides providing a forum for vetting public issues, at times political alliances were crystallized around such elite drinking occasions and often membership in a drinking fellowship was tantamount to participation in a political group. The correlation between drinking, factional politics and conflict is often unequivocally articulated in certain archaic poets. For instance, in Alc. fr. 332 Lobel-Page the death of a political adversary marks the occasion of an immoderate drinking bout:

Now we must get drunk (μεθύσθην) and drink beyond  
any measure (πὲρ βίαν), since Myrsilos has died.

Alcaeus is a poet who frequently advocates unrestrained drinking (fr. 58; 346 Lobel-Page) but the exhortation in fr. 332 to drink πὲρ βίαν goes beyond the boundaries of even the most liberal drinking etiquette. How then should fr. 332 be interpreted? And who exactly is the poet addressing?

<sup>40</sup> Cf. also Hippon. fr. 13 and fr. 14 West where a *pellis*, a cup used also as a milk pail (Ath. 11.495c-d), is used, in the absence of a *kylix*, as a drinking cup.

<sup>41</sup> In later periods politics and other civic affairs are attested as topics of conversation in communal meals. See e.g. Dosiadas *FGrHist* 458 F2 referring to messes in Lyttos, Crete; for drinking, conversation and other aspects of the Spartan *syssitia* see Fisher (1989); Lombardo (1989); Nafissi (1991), *passim*, especially 173-226; Schmitt Pantel (1992) 59-76; Lavrenčič (1993); Link (1998); Singor (1999); Hodkinson (2000), *passim*, especially 216-218 and 356-358. Critias fr. 6 West provides an Athenian upper-class perspective on drinking and conversation in classical Sparta. See Iannucci (2002) 81-85 and *passim*.

It is widely assumed that Alcaeus' poems were performed in a sympotic setting among the poet's drinking companions.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, despite their highly personal tone the content of several of these poems suggests a partisan affiliation for the members of this drinking group. In all probability, the group of Alcaeus' drinking companions was by and large identical with the leaders of a particular political faction. Themes drawn from contemporary political life abound in Alcaeus' poetry and surely similar topics at times dominated the conversation during Alcaeus' drinking parties. Thus in Alc. fr. 72 Lobel-Page the poet calumniates the immoderate drinking practices of an unknown person as a means to discredit the civic status of that person's offspring. It is often assumed that the target of Alcaeus' attack is probably one of his political adversaries, e.g. the Thracian Hyrrhas (D.L. 1.74) and his son Pittacus, although other interpretations are possible.<sup>43</sup> In Alc. fr. 70 Lobel-Page the pleasures of the drinking party serve as a refuge from the poet's self-perceived civic woes, in particular the political alliance between Myrsilos and Pittacus.<sup>44</sup> Correlatively, in Alc. fr. 130 Lobel-Page the poet laments his exclusion from civic life while in exile while in Alc. fr. 348 Lobel-Page he refers disapprovingly to Pittacus and the state of political affairs in Mytilene.

Viewed in this light, the exhortation in fr. 332 Lobel-Page to drink *πὲρ βίαν* on the occasion of Myrsilos' death becomes less of a drinking call and more of an attempt by the poet to rally his political allies. Alcaeus' poetry suggest that the drinking group he was affiliated with had developed their own sympotic model which included ephemeral rules of wine-consumption, sympotic poetry which exhibited an increased awareness and involvement in contemporary political affairs as well as a shared taste for particular material luxuries.

Facets of the association between wine-drinking, social class and factional politics are attested in other archaic poets as well. The reference in Archil. fr. 124b West to unwanted guests and deceptive friends is a testimony to the realities of the drinking group not only as a cohesive political sect but also as a breeding ground and a stage of social conflict. In Anacr. elegy 2 West the poet is critical towards symposiasts who talk

<sup>42</sup> Trumpp (1973); Rösler (1980); Stehle (1997) 215.

<sup>43</sup> For a summary of the debate see Tsomis (2001) 171-4.

<sup>44</sup> Fr. 50 Lobel-Page probably paints a similar picture of the *symposion* as a refuge from civic evils, but the lacunose state of the fragment defies certainty. For Pittacus and the political climate in Mytilene in early sixth century BC see Page (1955) 149-243; Kurke (1994); Spencer (2000); Visconti (2004).

about strife (νείκεα; presumably including civic political strife) and tearful war while drinking. Furthermore, in fr. 1 West Xenophanes talks about *hubris* (l. 17) and "fierce *stasis*" (l. 24) that should be avoided in the context of the *symposion*. These sentiments are further illustrated in the *Theognidea* where the poet largely perceives the world of the Greek *poleis* in terms of *κακοί* and *ἀγαθοί*, the latter being largely identified with the traditional social and political aristocracy, at the exclusion of social parvenus.<sup>45</sup> According to Theognis, the best way to inculcate the principles and morals of true nobility is through drinking and dining (Thgn. 31-34):

Know that this is so; do not engage in conversation  
with base men (κακοῖσι), but always cling to the noble (ἀγαθῶν).  
Drink and dine with them (μετὰ τοῖσιν πῖνε καὶ ἔσθιε), sit with them,  
and be pleasing to those whose power is great.

The idea that participation in the commensality of the *agathoi* can be beneficial and should be actively sought is also suggested in Thgn. 563-566:

You should be invited to a feast and sit beside a noble man (ἔσθλόν)  
who knows every kind of skill.

It is worth noting in these passages the direct association between social status and drinking companionship: a noble man would naturally tend to socialize and drink with his fellow nobles.<sup>46</sup> To what extent is this wishful thinking? In some passages of the *Theognidea* the drinking fellowship of *agathoi* that the poet envisages in other parts of the corpus as an ideal is presented as adulterated by the intrusion of the *kakoi* in the drinking parties of the upper-class. Hence in Thgn. 971-972 the poet wonders "what is the merit of winning a drinking prize? Often in fact a base man wins over one who is noble". Similarly in Thgn. 981-982 (accepting the reading κρητῆρι in 981) the poet alludes to deceptive talk and animosity between members of the same drinking group and in Thgn. 842 the poet maintains that intoxication leads one at the hands of the enemy, implying the presence of social and political adversaries at a drinking party.<sup>47</sup> It is very likely that the target of the Theognidean attacks are the *nouveaux riches* (see Thgn. 53-60) and their supporters who,

<sup>45</sup> See in general Cerri (1968); Stein-Hölkeskamp (1997).

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Hesiod fr. 264\* Merkelbach-West, "of their own will noble men hasten to the feasts of noble men".

<sup>47</sup> Cf. also Thgn. 115-116; 295-298; 643-644; 843-844, possibly referring to the reversal of social order through the presence of persons of low social origin at a drinking party; 1041-1042, recalling Alc. fr. 332 Lobel-Page; 1129-1130 referring to "enemies".

despite their originally low social origins, appropriate the trappings of the traditional nobility and frequent their drinking parties. As a result, in the *symposia* envisaged by Theognis political loyalties and even social class appear muddled and malleable. Contrary to the drinking group of Alcaeus, in Theognis participation in a drinking party was not necessarily tantamount to membership in a social or political group. It was rather through the manipulation of the drinking occasion that participants sought to partly mold their social identity and advance personal agendas.

#### INEBRIATION AND MODERATION: PARADIGMS OF ALCOHOLIC DRINKING IN ARCHAIC GREECE

The social attributes of drinking occasions outlined in the previous section were in archaic Greece closely related to the *manner* of drinking. Alcoholic drinking was extensively practiced despite the fact that the adverse biological effects of extreme intoxication were known to Greeks. Yet they played only a minor role in determining drinking behavior. This was because ancient Greece was an integrated drinking culture, i.e. a culture where drinking was socially acceptable and deeply embedded in everyday life. Furthermore, even critics of facets of alcoholic consumption did not in principle champion universal abstention.<sup>48</sup> If however the physiological effects of wine-drinking did not directly or heavily affect drinking behavior then precisely what factors gave genesis to specific modes of wine-consumption in archaic Greece? What are the paradigms of drinking that emerge from the archaic sources and how do archaic authors perceive the qualitative differences between them?

The last set of questions needs to be answered first. Since the Homeric epics wine was consumed both as a palliative and intoxicant, and it was often praised for its soothing and invigorating qualities. A recurring theme in archaic poetry presents wine as a substance capable of creating a relaxing and carefree reality for drinkers. Thus in a couplet (fr. 17 Bernabé) from the epic *Cypria* it is claimed that “wine... is the best thing the gods have made for mortal men for dispelling cares”. Nearly contemporary, a fragment of Alcaeus (335 Lobel-Page; cf. fr. 346 Lobel-Page) extols drunkenness as the best remedy for worries and troubles. At the end of the archaic epic tradition Panyasis describes wine as “the finest

<sup>48</sup> Some (but not all) late sources attribute wine-abstention to Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans. For the relevant testimonia and a discussion see Bremmer (1992).

gift from the gods to mortals" (fr. 21.1 West), "good shield against harm" (fr. 19.13 West), "a refuge from worries and depression" (fr. 19.16 West) and a substance that removes every pain from men's hearts (fr. 21.4 West).<sup>49</sup> In Thgn. 877-84 the poet exhorts the audience to drink a particular appellation produced at Taygetus claiming that "drinking this you will scatter your troublesome cares and when fortified you will be more relaxed".<sup>50</sup> The theme of pleasurable drinking is also expounded in an early fifth-century encomium (fr. 3 Irigoin) written by Bacchylides for the Macedonian king Alexander I. There it is argued that wine not only dispels worries but it can also boost a man's self-confidence: "Wine sends a man's thoughts soaring on high; immediately he is destroying the battlements of cities, and he expects to be monarch all over the world; his house gleams with gold and ivory, and wheat-bearing ships bring great wealth from Egypt over the dazzling sea. Such are the musings of the drinker's heart" (ll. 10-16).<sup>51</sup> Finally, the same feeling of joyful wine-drinking is evinced by the hortatory inscriptions of the type χαῖρε καὶ πίει εὖ encountered in sixth-century black-figure Athenian vases.<sup>52</sup>

Special reference should be made to the scene of summer-time drinking in Hesiod *Op.*, 582-596.<sup>53</sup> In the midst of advice aimed at maximizing agricultural and pastoral productivity, Hesiod recommends that during the hottest time of the year one should enjoy wine and food in a shady and windy spot in the countryside. There are several noteworthy elements in this scene of bucolic wine-drinking. First, the association between summer heat and wine-drinking is an archaic literary *topos* variations of which occur also in Alc. fr. 347a Lobel-Page and Thgn. 1039-1040 (cf. also Hes., *Sc.* 393-400, without any reference to drinking). Secondly, no reference is made to drinking companions and the whole scene suggests that in this instance Hesiod perhaps envisaged an occasion of solitary drinking.<sup>54</sup> If that is the case then *Op.* 582-96 reads like an act of drinking

<sup>49</sup> Note that the deleterious effects of excessive drinking are also noted: see Panyas. fr. 20 and 21 West, and the discussion of these fragments below.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Thgn. 477; 533; 1047; Sol. fr. 26 West; Stesich. fr. S 148 *SLG*, 8-9; Ion of Chios fr. Eleg. 26 West, 10; Pi. fr. 52d, 26 Maehler; fr. 124ab 5-7 Maehler; fr. 153 Maehler; Simon. eleg. fr. 4 West.

<sup>51</sup> Translation by Campbell (1992).

<sup>52</sup> Wachter (2004).

<sup>53</sup> See also Petropoulos (1994).

<sup>54</sup> Although this is not the only way to read the scene and Hesiod's silence does not necessarily mean that he envisaged the absence of a drinking companion, literary and iconographic comparanda do not preclude the possibility that solitary drinking was indeed contemplated here. For solitary drinking in the Homeric epics see *Od.* 17.602-604 and



for its own sake which was conducted for the sole purpose of the drinker's merriment and relaxation. Severed from its social context of commensality, solitary drinking is also stripped of the forceful symbolism emanating from the material culture of communal (especially elite) drinking as well as from the political subtexts associated with the composition of drinking groups and the conduct of participants.

Hesiod's solitary drinking introduces us to a wider and complex nexus of perceptions and evaluations of wine-drinking current in the archaic world. In Hes., *Sc.* 400<sup>55</sup> and *Catalogue of Women*, fr. 239 MW the poet refers to grapes/wine as something that Dionysus gave to men as "a delight and a burden" (χάρμα καὶ ἄχθος). This witty phrase, variants of which are encountered in Theognis,<sup>56</sup> encapsulates the ambiguity that many archaic Greeks felt towards wine and wine-drinking. Hence some sources appear to subscribe to what we might call the discourse of inebriation, i.e. the advocacy of the practice of heavy drinking aiming at drunkenness. Secondly, there is also a discourse of moderation which exhorts drinking only to the extent that the drinker can still perform certain basic functions (e.g. conduct a meaningful conversation, find his way home). These attitudes appear so widespread that there must be little doubt that they are not mere literary creations but they reflect actual practices. Often the scale of drunkenness acceptable varies among poets. Even within the works of the same poet one can detect nuances. For instance, poets who subscribe to the inebriation model acknowledge the possibility of excessive drinking that goes beyond even the most liberal standards of socially acceptable drunkenness. Within this context it is illuminating to note the racial and social characteristics ascribed to those who transgress the limits, as each poet defines them.

Alcaeus is the earliest of the archaic poets who advocates the inebriation model. The central premises of the model are outlined in fr. 346 Lobel-Page:

Let us drink! (πώνωμεν) Why do we wait for the lamps? Only an inch of daylight is left.  
Take down the large cups, my friend, the decorated ones.  
The son of Semele and Zeus gave men wine to help them forget their troubles.

possibly *Od.* 20.136. For the motif of solitary drinking in later Greek literature and vase iconography see Villard (1992).

<sup>55</sup> Lines 398-400 of the *Shield* are sometimes omitted or considered doubtful by few editors, but they are retained by most.

<sup>56</sup> Thgn. 875 calls wine "a blessing and a bane" (ἔσθλὸν καὶ κακόν). Cf. Thgn 211-212.

Mix one part of water to two of wine,  
pour it to the brim and let one cup jostle another.

Perhaps what was envisaged in Alc. fr. 346 Lobel-Page was drinking  $\pi\epsilon\rho\beta\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$  as in Alc. fr. 332 Lobel-Page, a fragment which we have already encountered in connection with the theme of political conflict in the *symposion*. That intoxication was the ultimate goal is clear from the reference to the large and brimful cups as well as the strong 1:2 mixture of water to wine. Short of drinking the  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$  (see Alc. fr. 72 Lobel-Page), 1 part water to 2 wine is the strongest mixture we encounter in archaic sources. Anacr. fr. 409 Page refers to a mixture of five portions of wine to three portions of water; in Anacr. fr. 356a Page it is alluded that even a 2:1 water to wine mixture is strong enough to induce a mild intoxication. On the contrary, Hes., *Op.* 596 recommends a more temperate 3 (water) to 1 (wine) mixture.<sup>57</sup>

The theme of unstinting drinking is a literary *topos* among archaic sympotic poets. In addition to fr. 346 Lobel-Page, intoxication is directly encouraged or positively alluded to in several other fragments of Alcaeus (58.12; 335.4; cf. fr. 338.6-7 and 36.7 Lobel-Page).<sup>58</sup> In addition to Alcaeus, in Anacreon fr. 356a Page<sup>59</sup> the poet orders a bowl ( $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\beta\eta\nu$ ) that he intends to drink without stopping for breath and in fr. 373 Page he boasts of emptying a jar ( $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\nu$ ) of wine.<sup>60</sup> Conceptually related to this literary discourse on extensive drinking is a series of images on late archaic Athenian vases which depict satyrs as heavy drinkers.<sup>61</sup> Moreover, iconographic depictions of Scythians, a group infamous in the Greek world for their uncouth drinking practices, might also allude to immoderate drinking and intoxication.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>57</sup> For classical and Hellenistic testimonia on the potency of wine and water mixtures see Page (1955) 308. See also Ath. 10.426b-427b and 10.430d-431b.

<sup>58</sup> See also Alc. frs 38a, 347a, 352, 376, 401a, 401b Lobel-Page.

<sup>59</sup> Anacreon had in late antiquity the reputation of a "wine-lover, an intoxicated komos-lover". See Anth. Palat. LXVI, 5.

<sup>60</sup> See also Anacr. fr. 346.4, 7-8 Page; 352 Page, quite possibly referring to a habitual heavy drinker; fr. 396 Page; Simon. fr. 512 Page. Panyas. fr. 16, 2-3 Bernabé claims that it is a virtue "for the man who drinks the most wine at a banquet well and skillfully ( $\epsilon\ddot{\upsilon}\kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ )". Even though at first glance the last fragment appears to extol extensive drinking, the qualification  $\epsilon\ddot{\upsilon}\kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  probably alludes to the fear of disruptive behavior and violation of social propriety which might result from uncontrollable intoxication. Cf. Panyas. fr. 17 and 19 Bernabé.

<sup>61</sup> For examples see Lissarrague (1990) 13-18.

<sup>62</sup> See Lissarrague (1990) 11-13; Miller (1991); Cohen (2001), especially 244-245. In addition to the images of drinkers bearing Scythian attributes (mainly a hat), sixth and early fifth-century pots at times also depict revelers and symposiasts wearing eastern costumes and headbands. See Caskey & Beazley (1954) 55-61; Brandenburg (1966)

Greeks of the archaic age were well aware of the potentially detrimental physiological and social effects of inebriation. It is worth noting, however, that as far as the archaic corpus of evidence on wine-drinking is concerned, intoxication was primarily an ethical and not a medical concern. More specifically, there are no explicit references in archaic literature to the habit-forming qualities of ethanol that constitute the cornerstone of modern theories of chronic alcoholism. Greece is not unique in this respect: there are several documented cases of societies in which habitual and often heavy drinking does not result in widespread addiction among drinkers.<sup>63</sup> Athenian vases of the sixth and early fifth-century at times depict liberal drinking and some of its direct consequences (e.g. sickness in the form of vomiting; *komastic* rowdiness).<sup>64</sup> Contemporary with this vase iconography is a poem by Pratinas which refers to the *komoi* and the street brawls of drunken youths (fr. 708.8 Page).<sup>65</sup> However, the majority of archaic sources that expound on the undesirable side-effects of intoxication emphasize its derivative social implications, especially the drinker's loss of decorum and self-control (Archil. fr. 119 West; Hippon. fr. 67 West; Thgn. 413-414; 497-498). It is perhaps not surprising that for some authors<sup>66</sup> the results of inebriation are expressed in a language that is reminiscent of Classical, Hellenistic and late antique binding curses and spells.<sup>67</sup> After all, since the Homeric epics (*Od.* 10.234-236), wine is referred to as an ingredient in hallucinatory and magical potions. Wine was therefore, in addition to its other qualities, perceived as a drug which, similarly to magic, could turn a sensible person into a fool.

For some poets, moderation was the answer to the potential perils of inebriation (Thgn. 211-212; 509-510; 837-840; Panyas. fr. 17.4-5 and fr. 19 Bernabé). According to Thgn. 478 the preferred condition for a drinker is to be "neither sober nor too drunk". Such a call for restraint in wine-drinking

77-88; Price (1990); Csapo (1997) 262; Parker (2007) 321-323. Topper (2009) 18 emphasizes the primitive aspects of Scythian/barbarian wine-consumption depicted in some archaic vases and talks of "presymptotic" drinking.

<sup>63</sup> See Papakonstantinou (2009) 19-23 for examples and bibliography. Ancient Greece is therefore another case which reinforces the view that the perception of alcoholism as a disease, associated with chronic addiction, is to a large extent a relatively recent cultural construct. See e.g. Levine (1978); Sourina (1990) (which however contains a very narrow in scope chapter on antiquity).

<sup>64</sup> See examples in Lissarrague (1990).

<sup>65</sup> According to Ath. 2.38e, Alc. fr. 369 Lobel-Page alludes to a context of violence due to inebriation.

<sup>66</sup> E.g. Hes., *Catalogue of Women* fr. 239 MW, which claims that wine can bind a person's feet, hands, tongue and mind.

<sup>67</sup> See e.g. Gager (1992).

should be interpreted in the context of a wider ideological template which became increasingly prominent in late archaic and early classical Greece and which advocated pursuing the golden mean (μέσον; μέτρον) in politics, public life and individual behavior.<sup>68</sup> Hence for its archaic advocates, drinking moderation was not merely a sympotic attitude but also a practice that carried a social and political subtext. Moreover, the elitist discourse of moderation often articulated class distinctions which reflected a wider social angst on the part of archaic symposiasts. In this view, the moderate drinking habits of some upper-class sympotic drinkers and audiences were contrasted to the "debased" excessive drinking practices of individuals from the lower social orders as well to the real or imaginary drinking attitudes of foreigners.

As we have already pointed out, much of the extant sympotic poetry reveals a preoccupation that uninhibited drinking might lead to the collapse of an individual's normal social functioning, especially regarding his ability to speak coherently and persuasively. The link between immoderate drinking and verbal incapacity is part of a wider discourse that connects gastric insatiability with distractive speech. As Steiner points out "[f]rom Hesiod to Aeschylus and beyond, Greek poets and orators combine references to outsized and/or transgressive appetites with forms of speech that violate the rules of linguistic decorum, whether on account of being too abusive, too long, too vulgar, too incomprehensible, too fawning, or quite simply mendacious."<sup>69</sup> Historically, articulate and persuasive speech was crucial for the consolidation of social relationships in the small communities of archaic Greece. In the realms of politics and justice,<sup>70</sup> competence in public speaking along with wealth and inherited family status provided great advantages to the individuals who sought prominence in public life. In this context it is not surprising that, concerning drunkenness, the greatest fear of sympotic poets and their audiences was that an intoxicated participant in a drinking party might speak and act out of turn, foolishly, and without regard to social formalities and exigencies. These ideas are encountered in several archaic poets (e.g. Alcaeus frs 333, 358 and 366 Lobel-Page; Archil. fr. 124b West)<sup>71</sup>

<sup>68</sup> E.g. Archil. fr. 128 West; Thgn. 219-220; 331-332; 335-336; 475-480; Phoc. fr. 12 Diehl; Pi., *I.* 6.66-73.

<sup>69</sup> Steiner (2002) 312; see also Worman (2008).

<sup>70</sup> See e.g. the importance attached to speech in the dispute settlement scene in Hes., *Th.* 81-90. For this passage see Gagarin (1992). Cf. Phoc. fr. 3 Diehl.

<sup>71</sup> See Panyas. fr. 17, 7ff. Bernabé who claims that after the third round of wine Hubris and Ate take over the acts of the heavy drinker; cf. the reference to Hubris and Ate in fr. 18 Bernabé and the discussion of Panyas. fr. 16 Bernabé in n. 60 above.

yet the image of the witless, garrulous and uncontrollable drunk is more coherently articulated in the *Theognidea*. In Thgn. 479-483 immoderate drinking serves as an index of demoralization and social degradation:

Whoever exceeds his measure of drink (ὕπερβάλλῃ πόσιος μέτρον),  
is no longer  
the master of his own tongue or his mind;  
he utters wild things which are disgraceful (αἰσχρά) in the eyes of the  
sober,  
and he is not ashamed of anything he does while he is drunk.  
Formerly he was sensible, but then he is a fool (νήπιος).

The direct association and emphasis between excess in drinking, puerility and shamelessness is paraphrased and repeated several times in the Theognidean corpus, always in incontrovertible language: the true champion is the one who, after drinking in excess (πολλὰς πίνων) will not say something foolish (μάταιον), 491-492; a sensible man becomes a fool (ἄφρων) whenever he drinks in excess (πίνῃ ὑπὲρ μέτρον), 497-498; a man who is wise (σοφόν) is put to shame (καταισχῦναι) when he drinks beyond his limit (ὕπερ μέτρον ἤρατο πίνων), 500-502; a heavy drinker (οἶνοβαρέω κεφαλὴν) expresses his fear that he might do something imprudent (μάταιον) and bring great disgrace on himself (μέγ' ὄνειδος), 503-508.<sup>72</sup> Herodotus (Hdt. 6.126-130) provides an additional illustration of the social stigma associated with uncontrollable inebriation and undignified behavior in the story of the betrothal contests and feast of Agariste, daughter of the tyrant of Sicyon Cleisthenes. Following a proclamation by Cleisthenes in Olympia, several blue-blooded Greek youths assembled in Sicyon in the mid-570s and competed in athletic and character trials for an entire year. At the end of the contests, Cleisthenes assembled the suitors at a final feast with the intention of announcing the impending marriage of his daughter to his chosen suitor, the Athenian Hippocleides. As the evening progressed, Hippocleides became more intoxicated than the other suitors and started dancing indecorously. Cleisthenes viewed Hippocleides' dancing with disfavor and considered it as indicative of his shamelessness (ἀναιδεῖν, 6.129.4). As a result, he changed his mind and proceeded to betroth Agariste to another Athenian suitor, the Alcmaeonid Megakles.

Archaic discourses on inebriation, intemperate speech, deviant behavior and their accompanying social disgrace were inextricably connected

<sup>72</sup> See also Thgn. 841-842.

with social class and status. In Archil. fr. 124a and b West the poet inveighs against a certain Pericles, an infamous *symposion*-crasher. A reference in Archil. fr. 124a West to the Myconians, a group stereotyped, as Athen. 1.7f-8b explains, for their poverty and stinginess, almost certainly alludes to the low class origins of Pericles. In Archil. fr. 124b West the same Pericles is depicted as a parvenu and a mooch who gains entry in *symposia* but whose lack of class is revealed by his consumption of "large quantities of unmixed (χαλίκρητον) wine" and the fact that his "belly leads astray his mind and wits to shamelessness (ἀναιδείην)".<sup>73</sup> The image of the ravenous belly as a synonym to the lack of drinking etiquette, dignity and sophistication is exploited by other archaic poets. Hippon. fr. 128 West parodies the gluttonous drinking and eating habits of a certain Eurymedontiades as a "sea-Charybdis" (ποντοχάρυβδιν) and "the knife in the stomach" (ἐγγαστριμάχαιραν) respectively. As the poet explains, Eurymedontiades "does not eat in an orderly manner" whereas his drinking, we might add, resembles the Charybdis whirlpool which sucks up the dark water (see Hom., *Od.* 12.104).<sup>74</sup>

The link between excessive drinking habits and low social origins is explicitly articulated in the *Theognidea* as well, a corpus in which the *kakoi* and the *nouveaux riches* of dubious social backgrounds are often the target of the poet's invective.<sup>75</sup> Hence in Thgn. 485-487 unruly drinking is presented as a signifier of low social class: the drinker who does not abstain from excessive drinking, even though he is aware of the social humiliation that he might suffer, is compared to a κακὸν λάτρην ἐφημέριον, i.e. a wretched hired servant for the day whose desire for wine takes the better of him. Perhaps a reversal of social order is implied in Thgn. 843-844 when the poet maintains that whenever the one above becomes the one below it is time to stop drinking and go home. Audiences who heard these poems performed would have had little difficulty drawing the conclusion that the upstanding member of the community who drinks excessively and engages in disruptive behavior is demoted in the eyes of his peers to the status of the uncultivated rumble or the unruly foreigners and mythical creatures.

<sup>73</sup> See also Brown (2006) 37-38.

<sup>74</sup> For Hippon. fr. 128 West see West (1974) 148; Degani (2002) 187-205. See however Faraone (2004).

<sup>75</sup> See the discussion in Cerri (1968); Stein-Hölkeskamp (1997); Papakonstantinou (2004).

It is indeed the case that foreign origin is in archaic poetry often equated with lack of civility, sophistication, uncontrollable drinking and disruptive behavior. We have already encountered Alc. fr. 72 Lobel-Page in which the poet most likely attempts to demean the status of Pittacus through an attack on the drinking practices of his Thracian father. Even though in other poems Alcaeus himself exhorts his companions to heavy drinking, in fr. 72.4-5 Hyrrhas, i.e. Pittacus' father, is accused of drinking unmixed wine during day and night, i.e. in a manner that is in keeping with his barbaric pedigree and which goes beyond the established Greek conventions of even excessive drinking. Correlatively, in Anacr. fr. 356b Page rowdy drinking is called Scythian (Σκυθηκὴν πόσιν) and is contrasted to restraint and orderly conduct.<sup>76</sup> According to Herodotus (6.84.1-3), the Spartans believed that their king Cleomenes I developed a penchant for drinking strong unmixed wine while consorting with Scythians.<sup>77</sup> Furthermore, mythological "others" are often portrayed as the perpetrators of immoderate drinking. The most notable example are the centaurs whose self-destructive excessive drinking and its immediate consequences, especially during the centauromachy, are encountered in the Homeric epics (*Od.* 21.288-298) as well as in archaic literature (Pi. fr. 166 Maehler; cf. Stesich. fr. S19 *SLG*) and art.<sup>78</sup>

If inebriation is desirable only to the extent that one knows how to keep it within the boundaries of social propriety, then it follows that a drinker should also know what passes as acceptable behavior at a drinking party, especially with regard to the interaction of symposiasts. Many poets emphasize the importance of coherent, intelligent and jovial conversation (Phoc. fr. 14 Diehl; Thgn. 309-311; 492-495; Xenoph. fr. 1.18-20 West), a theme that is also underscored in the fifth-century articulation of the archetype of moderate drinking by Critias (fr. 6 West; cf. also Alex. fr. 9 Kock). Conceptually related to the principle that sobriety in drinking equals sobriety in speech and acts is the archaic legislation on drinking that is attested mainly in classical and late antique sources. Much of this legislation is attributed to archaic lawgivers or other prominent public figures. For instance, Zaleucus reputedly introduced a law which prescribed that if anyone among the Epizepherian Locrians fell ill and drank unmixed wine without a doctor's prescription, even if he survived the

<sup>76</sup> On Anacr. fr. 356a and b see Pretagonisti (1982). Cf. Kantzios (2005) 238 for drinking moderation in Anacreon.

<sup>77</sup> For the complex network of ancient Greek ideas and stereotypes on Scythian drinking habits see Hartog (1988) 165-170.

<sup>78</sup> See Dubois (1991); Osborne (1998), *passim*.



penalty for that person was death because he had drunk something without having received the order to do so.<sup>79</sup> According to Aristotle and other late sources Pittacus, himself the target of political vilification and social derision in the sympotic poetry of Alcaeus, introduced a law that imposed heavier penalties on those who committed crimes while being drunk.<sup>80</sup> In Athens, a law attributed to Solon condemned to death any archon found intoxicated.<sup>81</sup> In addition to the laws attributed to archaic lawgivers, at times extant archaic statutes reveal an interest in regulating facets of wine-consumption.<sup>82</sup> Overall, similarly to the admonitions of some poets who subscribed to the discourse of drinking moderation, drinking legislation also aimed at minimizing the negative behavioral (but not necessarily physiological) effects of extreme intoxication that threatened social propriety. It is tempting to see a connection between the attempts to regulate drinking behavior through legislation and the sustained exposition of the discourse of drinking moderation in parts of archaic poetry. This point is further elaborated in the following section, yet it should be pointed out that any conclusions regarding archaic anti-drinking legislation must at the present state of the evidence remain tentative.

## CONCLUSION

In the introduction to a widely influential volume on the Greek *symposion* Oswyn Murray has argued that "the *symposion* became in many respects a place apart from the normal rules of society, with its own strict code of honour in the *pistis* there created, and its own willingness to establish conventions fundamentally opposed within the *polis* as a whole".<sup>83</sup> In this paper I have argued that, at least as far as ideas about

<sup>79</sup> Ael., *VH* 2.37; Ath. 10.429a-b; Thphr. fr. 579 A-B, F.-H.-S.

<sup>80</sup> Arist., *Pol.* 1274b.19-23; *EN* 1113b; *Rh.* 1402b.7; Plut., *Mor.* 155F; D.L. 1.76; Cicero, *De legibus* 2.26, 66.

<sup>81</sup> D.L. 1.57. According to Arist. fr. 611.28 Rose Aristides of Keos introduced a law which prescribed that before marriage minors and women should only consume water. Late sources claim that similar laws were in force at Marseille and Miletus (Ael. *VH* 2.38; Ath. 10.429a-b; Thphr. fr. 579A-B F.-H.-S).

<sup>82</sup> See Tiryns, late seventh/early sixth century BC, *AE* (1975), 163 = *Nomima* I 78 = *IGT* 31; Eleutherna, late sixth century *SEG* 41.739 = *Nomima* II 98; possibly *IC* IV 4 = *Nomima* II 61, Gortyn, second half of the seventh century BC. An early fifth-century BC law from Thasos (*Nomima* II 96) also deals with wine, quite possibly regulating aspects of wine production or trade.

<sup>83</sup> Murray (1990b) 7; see also the comments by Humphreys (1978) 219 and 239-240.

wine-consumption in the *symposion* and other contexts of commensality are concerned, archaic sources reveal a more complex network of often contradictory or complementary drinking attitudes and practices that largely intersected and overlapped with wider social and political conventions and developments. Interpreting the archaic data on commensality and wine-drinking is a difficult task which is further complicated by the quality and origin of many of the pertinent sources. Nonetheless, some patterns do emerge and should be tentatively presented, along with some reflections on their historical interpretation, if only as a framework of analysis which could be revised and supplemented by future scholarship and discoveries.

Poetry that was performed primarily in upper-class contexts reveals that in elite drinking parties liberal drinking was frequently encouraged and practiced, often in the company of accouterments (large cups, Scythian clothes) that symbolized heavy drinking. Practicing unrestrained drinking and intoxication without regard for the potentially disruptive physiological consequences might have functioned for elite drinkers as a means of defining and consolidating factional membership and identity and, by extension, as a token of political dominance. Moreover, the act of drunkenness on fine and highly-sought wines, the use of expensive cups and other material aspects of the *symposion* (e.g. use of imported luxuries) were most likely symptoms of an elite culture of material display and consumption that further differentiated the ruling classes from the lower social orders.

In this context, a number of communities enacted anti-drinking legislation which, according to the traditional chronology, dates from the seventh and sixth centuries BC. Overall, drinking legislation emphasized and penalized the detrimental behavioral consequences of alcoholic consumption. Moreover, it articulated an attempt to regulate the contexts of drinking and impose restrictions and sanctions along gender and age criteria. Besides enforcing social order and drinking decorum it is likely that there was an additional subtext to these laws, namely to act as a response to aristocratic sympotic excesses and as an attempt to contest and renegotiate the elitist paradigms of drinking. Two additional aspects of the archaic anti-drinking legislation should be noted: first that, if the late traditions are to be trusted, some of the anti-drinking laws were promulgated by figures (e.g. Pittacus in Mytilene, Solon in Athens) who were presumably themselves participants in the circuit of upper-class drinking *symposia* in their home cities. Secondly, in spirit anti-drinking

legislation is congruent with other laws attributed to many archaic law-givers, namely the so-called sumptuary legislation which was mainly directed against aristocratic luxury and flamboyance.<sup>84</sup>

During the late archaic period social and political developments, including the emergence in some cities of political configurations that afforded wider decision-making powers to the lower classes,<sup>85</sup> must have increased the pressure on the aristocracy to redefine or reinvent many markers of its class identity. The *symposion* had been such a marker throughout most of the archaic period. In addition to calls for intoxication, archaic sources suggest an alternative elite drinking paradigm: uncontrollable drinking is often demonized and calls for drinking restraint multiply on the grounds of the detrimental behavioral effects of extreme intoxication and its consequences on the social interaction of drinkers/upper-class social peers. Along the same lines, stereotypes regarding the excessive drinking habits of the lower classes and foreigners are duly exploited. In other words, some archaic aristocrats seem to be largely in tune with the discourse on drinking moderation, partly articulated in archaic civic anti-drinking legislation as well, and advance it as the dominant drinking etiquette of their social class. Finally, it is hard to guess what the lower social orders thought of all the above, yet at the very least there is evidence to suggest that individuals of all walks of life engaged in wine-drinking in private contexts or public occasions (e.g. festivals).

Archaic Greek drinking practices and ideas were a microcosm that was closely interconnected to the wider and complex template of archaic communities. Members of these communities actively and often enthusiastically engaged in wine-drinking on a number of occasions and contexts. As conditions in archaic Greece developed, so did wine-drinking practices. Furthermore, besides being a socially embedded practice, the consumption of alcohol was often constituent and constitutive of social and political networks and ideologies. It was precisely this social potency of wine that can perhaps best explain the ambivalent attitudes that many Greeks felt towards it.

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<sup>84</sup> For archaic sumptuary legislation see Hölkeskamp (1999) 157 and *passim*.

<sup>85</sup> Robinson (1997).

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## SECRETARIES, *PSEPHISMATA* AND *STELAI* IN ATHENS

*Abstract:* This article examines the role of the prytany secretary in Athens in respect of the publication of public decrees. It is argued firstly that the agenda for meetings were minimalist, except perhaps in the case of *aiteiseis*; secondly that, except when the Assembly adopted a specific *probouleuma*, the prytany secretary played a significant role in shaping the text of decrees; thirdly that the text inscribed on a *stèle* was that finalized by the secretary, that it was no different from the copy placed in the Metroon, and that it constituted the ‘official’ text; and finally (contrary to widespread belief) that, in keeping with the rationale for inscription in terms of information in the case of diplomatic instruments and stimulus to benefaction in the case of honorific measures, all public decrees were inscribed on *stelai* and that this practice was well within the capacity of public funding and the availability of letter-cutters.

As advancing years beckon me to retreat from that ‘darkling plain where epigraphist armies clash’, I venture here some thoughts about the nature and status of Athenian public *stelai* and the role of the secretary charged with their inscription and erection.<sup>1</sup> Much has been written about these topics — rather a lot about the archives of the Metroon, about which we are relatively ill-informed, somewhat too little about the *stelai* themselves, where evidence is plentiful. Thus on the one hand frequent assertions about the official status of the archival copies of decrees are prevalent, despite the fact that not a single indisputable archive text is preserved, whilst on the other hand it is widely believed firstly that, in contrast to the archival copy of the text of decrees, the inscribed text is selective in content, despite the virtually standard instruction to the prytany secretary on hundreds of preserved *stelai* to see to the inscription and erection of τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα; and secondly that only a selection of decrees was in practice inscribed, despite the absence of evidence and (for me) of plausibility for such a proposition.<sup>2</sup> I shall argue here

<sup>1</sup> The main rationale for this study is to provide further prolegomena for the fascicle of the forthcoming *IG* ii<sup>3</sup> covering the period 300–228 BC, but obviously a broader chronological perspective is needed. All dates are BC, unless stated, and archon dates in the third century are those presented by the present author in Osborne (2008) 85–89, (2009a) 125–138, (2009b) 83–99.

My (mis-)quotation is, of course, from Mathew Arnold’s poem *Dover Beach*.

<sup>2</sup> For an expression of both such beliefs cf. (e.g.) Davies (2003) 328: “the decision to ‘publish’ a document by inscribing it for public view was taken only for a minority of documents, the text thus published being often an abbreviated version of what had been

that the inscribed *stelai* were the official texts approved by the secretary and that there is no reason to envisage that they were different from those filed in the archives;<sup>3</sup> also that all decrees were in practice inscribed on public *stelai*. Before attempting to elaborate these arguments it will be useful briefly to review the legislative process itself, touching upon a few issues which do seem, despite the massive literature,<sup>4</sup> to lack clarity.

#### ΠΡΟΓΡΑΜΜΑ AND ΠΡΟΠΕΜΠΤΑ

It is clear and universally accepted that all proposals for decrees had to be submitted to the *Boule* and that they could only reach the Assembly for debate and decision through the vehicle of a *probouleuma* prepared by the *Boule*. As we learn from the lexicographers,<sup>5</sup> the *Boule* had to provide five days notice of meetings in normal circumstances.<sup>6</sup> This is

‘archived’”. See also Rhodes (1997) 3: “When a state publishes ... a decree we may assume that the published text is based on (but is not necessarily a complete and *verbatim* copy of) an original text written on papyrus or comparable material”; Sickinger (1999) 91f. (writing of the fifth century): “Records of decrees, only a fraction of which were inscribed on stone were routinely drawn up and maintained”; 155: “Secretaries may have exercised some latitude in framing the minutes of a meeting, just as they did with inscribed texts, but those minutes, which provided the basis of the archival texts of decrees, were more detailed and more complex than the prescripts of inscribed decrees”.

<sup>3</sup> I emphasize here that my reference is to the texts of decrees passed following the presentation of a *probouleuma*, not to essentially procedural matters, nor to incidental information having no bearing on the actual decree. Thus, especially prior to the later fourth century, the archive copy may well have contained additional detail regarding the precise date of a decree (cf. Sickinger (1999) 152ff.) and later it may have been accompanied with a list of the *symproedroi* (an occasional feature of inscribed texts from the 330s to ca. 224; cf. Henry (1977) 39ff.; Dow (1963) 335ff.) but such information had no bearing on the validity or official nature of the text of the *stèle*.

<sup>4</sup> See (for example) Hansen (1983) *passim*, (1991) *passim* — with references to earlier literature.

<sup>5</sup> Photios *s.v.* πρόπεμπτα: τὸ πρὸ πέντε ἡμερῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας προγράφειν, ὅτι ἔσται ἐκκλησία. Cf. Rhodes (1981) 522. Hansen (1991) 133 (and elsewhere) suggests that Photios should be interpreted as noting a period of notice for meetings of four days, but this is surely incorrect (cf. Rhodes, *loc. cit.*).

<sup>6</sup> For four meetings per prytany in the period of the ten tribes (cf. Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 43.3); three meetings per prytany thereafter. Hansen has argued on many occasions (cf. e.g. (1977), (1979), (1982), (1987)) that additional meetings could not be convened, but this is surely most improbable.

Emergency meetings, called without due notice, are occasionally attested in the third century. Thus (for example) the decree for an urgent *epidosis* in the face of the depredations of Alexandros, son of Krateros, in 248/7 was passed on the second day of the tenth prytany (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 791 = *Agora* XVI 213 + *SEG* 52.109).

clear and (leaving aside some idiosyncrasies advocated by Mogens Hansen)<sup>7</sup> uncontroversial, but what is less clear is the nature of the πρόγραμμα for the meeting.<sup>8</sup> It is usually agreed that it was posted on the monument of the Eponymous Heroes in the Agora, and this is probably correct, although it is strictly conjectural since the ancient evidence refers only to the posting of νόμοι there.<sup>9</sup> But what was the level of detail? Was there simply a list of topics or were the *probouleumata*, which were to be read out in the Assembly, displayed? The length and complexity of many decrees, especially those concerning alliances or regulations, might suggest the need for prior display if sensible debate was to ensue, but it is difficult to be sure that the interest of the average voter (never mind his capacity to read extensive texts) transcended basic information on the topics for debate. In addition a minimalist approach seems to be demanded by the dual nature of *probouleumata* — for, as is well known, these could either embody a draft resolution supported by the *Boule* or else could be ‘open’ in simply introducing a topic without recommending any course of action.<sup>10</sup> The latter obviously cannot have provided a draft motion for perusal in advance. Thus, for example, the famous Decree of Khremonides (in 269/8) was passed in pursuance of an open *probouleuma*, so that, detailed as it is, the first public airing of the text must have been made in the Assembly. Prior to this the *ekklesiastai* (apart from the *bouleutai*, who had presumably discussed and declined to endorse the proposal) can only have known that a motion for an alliance with the Lakedaimonians and others was due for decision. Presumably, Khremonides rose to speak in response to the herald’s invitation for a speaker and read out the text of his unsuccessful proposal to the *Boule*. Once passed this could be given to the secretary for publication.

Even in the case of specific *probouleumata* it is unlikely that the full texts were set out in the *programma*. In very broad terms (preserved) decrees can be divided into two categories, namely honorific (the most numerous, except in the fifth century) and what may be termed ‘regulatory’ (i.e. treaties, alliances and domestic regulations).<sup>11</sup> The former generally

<sup>7</sup> For which see note 6 above.

<sup>8</sup> Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 43.3–6 informs regarding the various types of meeting when there were four per prytany, but he does not explain in detail the content of the agenda notice. *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 547 + *SEG* 21.292 = Schwenk (1985) no. 74 (324/3) may have dealt with the πρόγραμμα (18ff.) but the text is insufficiently well preserved to provide useful evidence.

<sup>9</sup> For the ancient testimonia cf. Wycherley (1957) 85ff. nos. 229–245.

<sup>10</sup> For a full account cf. Rhodes (1972) 52ff., (1997) 18ff.

<sup>11</sup> See Appendix for the percentages of the two categories from the early fifth century to ca. 200. For a useful breakdown of the categories of non-honorific decrees cf. Hansen (1987) 109ff.

embody two sections — on the one hand a statement of the rationale for making an award, on the other hand the description and authorization of the award and any attendant conditions<sup>12</sup> or qualifications.<sup>13</sup> The rationale for making an award was surely the key consideration for voters<sup>14</sup> but in most decrees of the fifth and earlier fourth centuries the statement of rationale is rehearsed in such succinct and bland terms that it could hardly have provided useful information for prospective voters.<sup>15</sup> Thus, purely for examples, how could a grant of citizenship (an honour which, according to Apollodoros, οὕτω καλὸν καὶ σεμνὸν ἡγήσασθαι εἶναι δῶρον τὸ Ἀθηναῖον γενέσθαι, ὥστε νόμους ἔθετο αὐτῶι, καθ' οὗς ποιεῖσθαι δεῖ, ἐάν τινα βούλωνται, πολίτην)<sup>16</sup> for an obscurity such as Phil[...7....]es of Rhodes be presented for evaluation on the basis ὅ[τι ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός ἐστι περὶ Ἀθηναίους]<sup>17</sup> or for Aristomenes because [τὸν δ]ῆ[μ]ον [τὸν Ἀθην[αίων εὖ ποιεῖ ὁ τι ἂν δύνηται]<sup>18</sup> or for Amyntor ἐ[πειδὴ εὖνο]ιαν ἐνδείκν[υται περὶ Ἀθ]ηναίους?<sup>19</sup> It is, of course, true that from ca. 307 onwards expressions of rationale are rather more informative, even if sometimes succinct,<sup>20</sup> but it would be difficult to tie this to a change in the nature of the *programma*.<sup>21</sup> In the case of 'regulatory' decrees many were long and complicated and it seems unlikely that the *programma* contained anything beyond a brief heading.

<sup>12</sup> Such as the second vote in the next Assembly in the case of citizenship decrees.

<sup>13</sup> For example, so-called 'entrenchment' clauses (for which cf. Lewis (1974) 81ff.; Rhodes (1997) 16f.); such clauses are more commonly found in decrees of a regulatory nature, but cf. *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 222 = Osborne (1981/83) D22 (ca. 334) for an example in an honorific decree.

<sup>14</sup> It is, of course, true that in the fifth and earlier fourth centuries amendments did occasionally deal with the nature of an award, usually to improve it. Cf. (e.g.) *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 102 = Osborne (1981/83) D2; ii<sup>2</sup> 19 = Osborne (1981/83) D7. In both cases the initial rationale clause is bland, suggesting perhaps that the stimulus for the improvement was the speech in favour of the *probouleuma* by the proposer.

<sup>15</sup> Thus in *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 102 = Osborne (1981/83) D2 (for example) the proposal in the *probouleuma* [ἐπαίνεσ]αι Θρασύβωλον ὃς ὄντα ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν περὶ τὸν δῆμ]ον τὸν Ἀθηναῖον καὶ πρόθυμον π[οιεῖν] ὅτι δύν[α]ται ἀγαθόν covers (conceals!) the fact that Thrasyboulos was being honoured for the murder of the oligarchic leader, Phrynichos (cf. Lysias 13.70ff.; Lykourgos, *In Leokratem* 112).

<sup>16</sup> [Demosthenes] 59.88; and see 89f. for the stringent regulations for an award.

<sup>17</sup> *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 19 = Osborne (1981/83) D7 (394/3).

<sup>18</sup> Osborne (1981/83) D13 (375/350).

<sup>19</sup> *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 405 = Osborne (1981/83) D21 (334/3).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. (for examples) *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 495 = Osborne (1981/83) D60 and *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 496 + 507 = Osborne (1981/83) 61, where the rationale is brief but contains the salient point that the honorands were aides of Demetrios Poliorketes.

<sup>21</sup> Decrees awarding the highest honours of the city in response to an *aítesis*, where a substantial *curriculum vitae* was clearly needed for citizen applicants, are a special case. See further below.



A reasonable conclusion is that the proposers of decrees, probouleumatic or otherwise, were expected to speak in justification of their proposals.<sup>22</sup>

A complexity in all of this is that in the third century certain awards either did, or could, require a formal request (αἴτησις)<sup>23</sup> to the *Boule* and *demos* and that in these cases the instruction of the *Boule* to the *proedroi* is that they take the matter to the *demos* after the expiry of a legally prescribed number of days. Two distinct categories of honorand are discernible — on the one hand citizens seeking the *megistai timai* of the city,<sup>24</sup> on the other hand foreign residents seeking the practical benefit of either citizenship or *enktesis*.<sup>25</sup> Within the first category three cases are attested within the period 286-228<sup>26</sup>:

- (1) For Philippides of Kephale (in the *kyria ekklesia* of the third prytany of 283/2)<sup>27</sup> where the relevant part of the text reads: [δεδόχθαι τῇ] βουλευτὶ τοὺς προέδρους οἱ ἂν λά[χωσιν προεδρεύειν] εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ὅταν ἐξέλθωσιν αἱ [ἐκ τοῦ νόμου ἡμ]έραι τῆς αἰτήσεως χρηματίσαι περὶ τ[ούτων εἰς τὴν] πρώτην ἐκκλησίαν κατὰ τὸν νόμον, γνώ[μην δὲ] συμβάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δοκεῖ [τῇ β]ουλευτῇ . . .
- (2) For Kallias of Sphettos (in the *kyria ekklesia* of the sixth prytany of 270/69)<sup>28</sup> where the relevant part of the text reads: ... τοὺς προέδρους οἵτινες ἂν λάχωσιν προεδρεύειν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου χρηματίσαι ...<sup>29</sup>

<sup>22</sup> In cases where the *probouleuma* was ‘open’ it seems possible that the issue was at least on some occasions postponed until a later meeting. Thus, for example, in the decree of Lykourgos for the merchants of Kition (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 337 = Schwenk (1985) no. 27) the *probouleuma* inviting the Assembly to discuss the issue is dated to the first prytany, the resultant decree is from the second prytany.

<sup>23</sup> The *aítesis* would, of course, be embodied in a decree proposed by a speaker other than the petitioner.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Gauthier (1985) 77ff.; Osborne (1981) 158ff.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Osborne (2010) 133f. These conditions were not attached to the grants of such honours to distinguished foreigners who had no desire to live in Athens, such as Herodotos, the high-ranking officer of Demetrios Poliorketes who was honoured in 295/4 for assisting in the restoration of democracy (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 646 + *SEG* 45.100). See also Zelnick-Abramovitz (1998) 554 ff.

<sup>26</sup> A further decree from 293/2 for Philippides of Paiania (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 649 + Dinsmoor (1931) 3ff. + *SEG* 45.101) does not record these provisions, but it is from a period of oligarchy and non-probouleumatic.

<sup>27</sup> *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 657 + *SEG* 46.132.

<sup>28</sup> T.L. SHEAR, *Hesperia Supplement* XVII (1978) = *Agora* XVI 255D = *SEG* 28.60 (cf. 52.108). Kallias was awarded a bronze statue in the *Agora* and *proedria*; he was ineligible for *sítesis*. Cf. Osborne (1981).

<sup>29</sup> The wording is less precise than in the other cases, but it is clearly distinct from that used in decrees regularly.

- (3) For Phaidros of Sphettos (259/8)<sup>30</sup> where the relevant parts of the text read: ... τοὺς προέδρους . . . ὅταν αἱ ἡμέραι αἱ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου ἐξήκωσιν, χρηματίσαι περὶ τούτων ... and ... τὰ μὲν ἄλλα [πά]ντα πράττειν περὶ τῆς δωρεᾶς ἣς εἵτηκεν Φαῖδρος κατὰ τὸ πρότερον ψήφισμα ὃ Λύανδρος εἶπεν ...

The decree of 196/5 for Kephisodoros of Xypete<sup>31</sup> emphasizes the continuing need for an *aitesis* but appears (albeit by restoration) to indicate that the provision for a ‘waiting period’ for the initial vote had been abolished.<sup>32</sup> If so, a change could perhaps have been made early in 228/7 under the new administration of Eurykleides and Mikion.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>30</sup> *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 682 + *SEG* 53.127

<sup>31</sup> *Agora* XVI 261.

<sup>32</sup> For the *aitesis* cf. lines 32 and, the more especially, 36 f. (καὶ τὴν αἵτησιν δέδωκεν πρὸς [τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον] κατὰ μέρος τῶν πεπραγμένων).

The instruction to the *proedroi*, according to Woodhead (*Agora* XVI 261, following Meritt (1936) 419 ff. no. 15) is to be restored as follows: [δε]δόχθαι τεῖ βουλευὶ τοὺς προέδρους οὔτινες ἂν λάχωσιν προεδρεῦειν εἰς τὴν κυρίαν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγείδος πρυτανείας χρηματίσαι περὶ τούτων κατὰ τὸν νόμον]. The decree was passed on 13 *Elaphebolion* (problematic in itself since this would be during the *Dionysia*) in a *kyria ekklesia* in the Peiraieus when *Aigeis* was the prytanizing tribe. This would imply the expectation of an immediate presentation of the case. According to Ferguson (1948) 133ff. n. 46 the solution to these difficulties is (1) that parts of the *Dionysia* were from time to time omitted in this period, so that a meeting of the *ekklesia* on 13 *Elaphebolion* would be feasible; and (2) that the specific reference to the *kyria ekklesia* of the currently prytanizing tribe was to enable the award of the crown to Kephisodoros to be announced at the tragic contest on one of the following three days of the *Dionysia*. The wording of the instruction for an immediate decision perhaps suggests a novelty, since the regular reference to the first or next meeting without the qualificatory words for a delay would have had the same effect. But the immediacy will in any case have related only to the crown, since the award of *sitesis* and *proedria* are to be subjected to a judicial scrutiny [ὅ]ταν ἐξέλθωσιν [αἱ] ἐκ τοῦ νόμου ἡμέραι (?) τῆς αἵτησεως]. It might be possible to believe that this clause has been misplaced, but against this is its appearance qualifying the judicial scrutiny in the decree for Kallias of Sphettos (cf. n. 28 above). As noted above the reference to *Aigeis* is wholly restored, so that other possibilities, with other implications, could be entertained — for example, the restoration [εἰς τὴν κυρίαν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης πρυτανείας] implying that the period of delay was until the next *kyria ekklesia*, but this would have delayed the award of the crown well beyond the duration of the *Dionysia*, and there is some further slight evidence in favour of abolition of the waiting period in a decree of 228/7 (see following note).

<sup>33</sup> The decree of 228/7 for Timosthenes may be relevant here (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 832 + *Addenda* p. 668 + Osborne (1981/83) D90). For this is a request for a re-affirmation of a grant made to his grandfather in 306/5 (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 467 + Osborne (1981/83) D43) proposed by the well-known statesman Kephisodoros of Xypete. The text provides an exposition of the four categories of person eligible for the highest honours of the city (for which cf. Osborne (1981)) and from lines 17ff. it may be deduced that Timosthenes was seeking the re-affirmation in the category of those τὴν ἰδίαν οὐσίαν εἰς τὴν κοινὴν σωτηρίαν θέντες and that he was expecting to utilize the benefits and reside in Athens. (He was, of

Within the second category the evidence is admittedly rather thin<sup>34</sup> but the decree of 266/5 granting citizenship to Strombichos is clear.<sup>35</sup> He was a long-term resident, who had provided assistance to Athens in the revolt from Demetrios Poliorketes and more recently in the Khremonidean War, and obviously wished to implement the grant of citizenship.<sup>36</sup> The relevant portion of text reads: [δεδόχθαι τεῖ βουλεῖ] τοὺς προέδρ[ους οἱ ἂν λάχουσιν προεδρεύειν ἐν τῷ]ι δήμῳ εἰς τὴν [ἐπιούσαν ἐκκλησίαν **ὅταν ἐξήκ]ωσιν αἱ ἐκ τοῦ νό[μου ἡμέραι χρηματίσαι περὶ τούτων]. In the case of grants of *enktesis* the provision for a statutory delay is attested in the period 262-228<sup>37</sup> in the three cases where the text is sufficiently preserved for a decision to be made.<sup>38</sup>**

This legally prescribed delay in presentation to the Assembly was presumably to provide sufficient time for consideration and an obvious implication is that in these (relatively rare) cases the *aítesis* itself was publicized.

A further complexity in the initial proceedings of a meeting of the Assembly is the nature and purpose of the *προχειροτονία*, which is alluded to somewhat enigmatically by Aristotle in his account of the statutory items of business for each of the four meetings per prytany in his day (*Ath. Pol.* 43.4-6). Despite the attractive hypothesis of Mogens Hansen to the effect that this was a preliminary vote whether to accept immediately or to send for debate all non-‘open’ *probouleumata*,<sup>39</sup> Aristotle does appear to relate the *procheirotomia* to the statutory items

course, ineligible for the other categories). The instructions of the *Boule* do not provide for a statutory delay. This could be because he was strictly a foreigner, but, given that he intended to reside in Athens, his case was quite different from those of foreign luminaries such as Aristonikos of Karystos (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 385 (b) + *SEG* 21.341 + Osborne (1981/83) D49) or Herodoros (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 646 + *SEG* 45.100 + Osborne (1981/83) D68) who were high officials of Hellenistic kings and who had no intention of making practical use of their awards. It thus seems likely that he was treated in the same way as citizen petitioners and that his decree indicates a change of practice. Given his detailed rehearsal of the eligible categories for this rare award, it may be that the proposer, Kephisodoros, was responsible for the change.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Osborne (2010) 132ff. In the case of *enktesis* specific reference to an *aítesis* is made in *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 810 + Add. p. 667, 907, and *Hesperia* 76 (2007) 540-545 = *SEG* 57.111.

<sup>35</sup> *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 666 + *SEG* 38.79; 667 + *SEG* 38.79 (two copies).

<sup>36</sup> There is no specific reference to *aítesis*, but it is implicit in the record of his promise to continue to contribute to the wellbeing of the *demos*.

<sup>37</sup> The provision for a scrutiny in such awards seems to have been introduced after 262, coinciding with the appearance of the statutory delay. Cf. Osborne (2010).

<sup>38</sup> *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 768 + 802 + *SEG* 53.130; 801; and 732.

<sup>39</sup> Hansen (1983) 123ff., (1987) 91, (1991) 139f.

prescribed for two of the (four) meetings per prytany.<sup>40</sup> It is, however, far from clear to what extent, if any, these provisions for meetings were applicable in the period of the twelve tribes, when there were three meetings per prytany, and discussion of this vexed issue is thus reserved for a separate paper.

It is in any event clear that Aristotle did not include all of the opening formalities for meetings in his account, and in this general regard the situation in respect of ‘conditional’ awards of honours (i.e. awards where some further action is necessary for them to be validated) is probably relevant. An obvious instance is provided by decrees which grant citizenship — for from early in the fourth century until the end of the third century such grants were conditional upon a second favourable vote by secret ballot at the next meeting of the Assembly.<sup>41</sup> A relatively large number of citizenship grants is preserved, but all comprise the initial enactment and instructions for the prytaneis to arrange for a second vote; not a single one either embodies a decree in furtherance of the second vote or records the result of the second vote. Given that such a second vote was not only undertaken but subjected to extremely stringent conditions,<sup>42</sup> it is surely inconceivable that the result was not reported to the Assembly. The obvious possibility is that such a report figured in the initial formalities of meetings and was filed in the Metroon.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Rhodes (1981) 529ff, (1997) 15f.

<sup>41</sup> For this process cf. Osborne (1981/83) IV 161ff.

<sup>42</sup> The process is described in considerable detail by Apollodoros in the oration *Against Neaira* ([Demosthenes] 59.89f.). According to him ... οὐκ ἔδει κυρίαν γενέσθαι τὴν ποίησιν, ἐὰν μὴ τῇ ψήφῳ εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἐκκλησίαν ὑπερεξακισχίλιοι Ἀθηναίων ψηφίσωνται κρύβδην ψηφίζόμενοι. τοὺς δὲ πρυτάνεις κελεύει τιθέναι τοὺς καδίσκους ὁ νόμος καὶ τὴν ψῆφον διδόναι προσιόντι τῷ δήμῳ, πρὶν τοὺς ξένους εἰσιέναι καὶ τὰ γέρρα ἀναιρεῖν, ἵνα κύριος ὢν αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ ἕκαστος σκοπῇται πρὸς αὐτὸν ὄντινα μέλλει πολίτην ποιήσεσθαι, εἰ ἄξιός ἐστι τῆς δωρεᾶς ὁ μέλλων λήψεσθαι.

<sup>43</sup> For the filing in the Metroon of reports and inventories commissioned by the *ekklesia* in decrees cf. Sickinger (1999) 122ff.

Late in the fourth century an additional hurdle for a grant of citizenship was introduced, namely a judicial scrutiny (and in the course of the third century this was applied also to grants of *enktesis*). Cf. Osborne (1981/83) IV 164ff., (2010) 132ff. It is not clear whether the result was reported to the Assembly or, if it was, by what means. In practice only three cases of a grant being rescinded are attested (cf. Osborne (1981/83) III T59 – Lykophron of Pherai; T60 – Peitholas of Pherai; T61 – Apollonides of Olynthos) all after a favourable second vote and as the result of a *graphe paranomon*.

The second vote would normally follow some ten days after the voting of the decree and inscription may have been delayed until the result was known. A further delay presumably was occasioned with the introduction of the judicial scrutiny.

## FROM ΠΡΟΒΟΥΛΕΥΜΑΤΑ TO ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ: THE ROLE OF THE SECRETARY

After the transaction of statutory formalities and items the Assembly dealt with the *probouleumata* prepared by the *Boule* for debate and the role of the secretary clearly was crucial in framing the resultant *psephismata*. The position clearly involved considerable responsibility and from the mid 360s the incumbent was chosen by lot and served for the whole year.<sup>44</sup> A decree of 337/6 praises the secretary towards the end of his year of office<sup>45</sup> and reveals that, like all other office-holders, he had to undergo εὔθυνα.<sup>46</sup> According to Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 54.3) κληροῦσι δὲ καὶ γραμματεῖα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν καλούμενον, ὃς τῶν γραμμάτων ἐστὶ κύριος καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα τὰ γινόμενα φυλάττει, καὶ τὰλλα πάντα ἀντιγράφεται καὶ παρακάθεται τῇ βουλῇ. These responsibilities clearly encompassed supervision of the inscription and public display of decrees in some appropriate location as well as the maintainence of appropriate records; also, and most importantly, the preparation of accurate texts. This last task cannot have been straightforward, although it probably was less onerous in the third century than it had been in earlier times, since by this time the decrees were overwhelmingly honorific in content<sup>47</sup> and probouleumatic in passage<sup>48</sup> (and amendments were evidently rare of occurrence and routine in nature).<sup>49</sup> Strictly speaking, the secretary could be faced with four scenarios in the Assembly:

- (1) A decision in favour of a *probouleuma* with a specific proposal, which could simply be converted to a decree.
- (2) A decision in response to an ‘open’ *probouleuma*, where the proposer could produce the draft, which had been unsuccessfully submitted to the *Boule* (as perhaps in the case of the decree of Khremonides).<sup>50</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Previously incumbents had been members of the *Boule* and served for a single prytany. Cf. Rhodes (1972) 134ff.; Rhodes & Osborne (2003) xxi.

<sup>45</sup> *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 292ff. = Schwenk (1985) no. 9 = *SEG* 35.64 (Prytany X 22 — the penultimate meeting of the year, as is revealed by *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 242 = Schwenk no. 10).

<sup>46</sup> [στεφαν]ῶσαι αὐ[τὸν] χρυσῶι στεφάνῳι ἐπειδὴν τὰς εὐθύνας] δῶι δοξ[άντ] ἄρξαι τὴν ἀρχὴν δικαίως καὶ κατὰ τοῦς νόμους.

<sup>47</sup> See further Appendix I below.

<sup>48</sup> Excluding prytany decrees, the approximate percentage of probouleumatic decrees in the period 286–228 is 83%. See further Appendix I below.

<sup>49</sup> Only one amendment is attested in the whole of the third century, namely that in *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 682 + *SEG* 53.127, where the proposer of the decree amends his own proposal. The obvious explanation is that he realized that the *probouleuma* (which was very lengthy) lacked one element and that in his speech to the Assembly in its favour he took the opportunity to rectify the omission by way of an amendment.

<sup>50</sup> *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 686 + 687 + *SEG* 56.190 (discussed above).

- (3) A decision in an emergency debate in response to an ‘open’ *probouleuma*, where a written draft was not immediately available. A possible example would be the decree of Demosthenes emanating from the emergency meeting which was convened upon the news of Philip’s seizure of Elateia in 338.<sup>51</sup>
- (4) A decision embodying any of the three foregoing which was modified by an amendment from the floor of the Assembly.<sup>52</sup>

In at least the last two scenarios the secretary, doubtless in consultation with the proposer, must have had the responsibility for framing the text.<sup>53</sup> Since he was in attendance at meetings of the *Boule*, he probably assisted also in the preparation of *probouleumata* texts.<sup>54</sup>

Whatever the exact circumstances here, the upshot is that after a meeting the secretary was charged with the responsibility of producing the official texts of all the decrees that were passed. As is known from the decree honouring the Samian envoy, Poses, this text was styled the βιβλίον τοῦ ψηφίσματος,<sup>55</sup> and this brings me to the issues noted at the outset — was the inscribed text identical to that of the βιβλίον and the ‘official’ text or was it merely a selective (truncated) version; and were all decrees inscribed?

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Demosthenes 18.169ff.

<sup>52</sup> Many amendments were probably of a minor nature, but some were not. For a list cf. Rhodes (1972) 278f.

<sup>53</sup> In this general regard a comment in Aristophanes (*Thesmophoriazousai* 383ff.) may possibly be relevant. For in a mock Assembly the speaker, after a lengthy diatribe, concludes by saying ... ταῦτ’ ἐγὼ φανερώς λέγω, τὰ δ’ ἄλλα μετὰ τῆς γραμματέως συγγράψομαι ... suggesting that a proposal outlined and agreed in the Assembly in response to an ‘open’ *probouleuma* (or an amendment) could be put into appropriately legal form subsequently in consultation with the secretary.

The decree granting *sitesis* to Philippides of Paiania (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 649 + Dinsmoor (1931) 3ff. (= *SEG* 45.101) albeit passed in 293/2, when for a very brief period the *anagrapheus* had replaced the secretary, may also be relevant. For, having recorded the awards and the provision for inscription of the decree on two *stelai*, the text continues ... εἶναι δὲ Φιλιππίδ[η] ἐν ταῖς στήλαις λιθίνειν προσαν[α]γράψασθαι τὰς εὐερ[γεσίας καὶ ἐπιδόσεις καὶ] τριηραρχ[ί]ας καὶ τὰς ἄ[λλ]ας λειτουργίας τὰς γεγενημένας τοῖς προγόν[οις καὶ ἑαυτῶι]. This certainly suggests that motions could be ‘re-shaped’ or augmented after the meeting, if the Assembly so assented.

<sup>54</sup> In this general regard it is perhaps relevant that in the texts of *aiteiseis* for the city’s highest honours attested in Plutarch *Moralia* 850f. the procedural clauses are lacking, whereas in actual decrees they are invariably set out in detail. Presumably the secretary assisted with their addition when/if the *aiteiseis* were converted to *probouleumata*.

<sup>55</sup> *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1 = Osborne (1981/83) D5, 61ff. (403/2).

## THE CASE AGAINST SELECTIVITY OF CONTENT

As noted at the outset, it is widely believed that the inscribed version of a text is in reality only a selective summary.<sup>56</sup> This is, of course, quite hypothetical. An obvious initial puzzle in such an hypothesis is why the secretary, having prepared an official text (frequently quite lengthy and in the case of at least some decisions from the floor of the Assembly in pursuance of open *probouleumata* at some considerable expense of time) should then go to the trouble of making a selective digest for inscription, rather than simply making available the βιβλίον to the cutter.<sup>57</sup> Such an hypothesis is the more puzzling since the *stelai* do not contain brief summaries of decrees, as quite often (for example) in Delphi,<sup>58</sup> but publicize texts, often quite lengthy texts,<sup>59</sup> purporting to embody decrees arising from *probouleumata*. In such circumstances it would be intriguing to know how much more detail could be included, for examples, in the Decree of Khremonides,<sup>60</sup> or the honorific decrees for Philippiades of Kephale,<sup>61</sup> Kallias of Sphettos<sup>62</sup> or the more humble Strombichos, whose exploits merited two *stelai*, one on the akropolis, one in the Agora.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>56</sup> As noted in n. 3 above, it is, of course, possible that archive copies contained more comprehensive details of the prescript, perhaps the list of *symproedroi* (which is only sometimes included in inscribed versions) but these were clearly non-essential pieces of information and not elements of the decree itself. In this general regard, however, it may be worth noting that the Decree of 262/1 granting posthumous honours to the philosopher, Zenon of Kition (Diogenes Laertios 7.10-12) — which, if genuine (cf. Haake (2004)) is a prime candidate for a text recovered from the Metroon — not only does not include the list of *symproedroi* but also lacks a reference to the prytany secretary.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Thomas (2003) 231 (reviewing Sickinger (1999)): “the status of the inscriptions becomes even more peculiar if secretaries kept full documentation in the archives but had ‘great latitude’ in what they included in inscriptions”.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Rhodes (1997) 126ff.

<sup>59</sup> As noted above, it is true that in the fifth and earlier fourth centuries motivation clauses in honorific decrees were generally more vaguely and succinctly expressed, but this is surely a reflection of the nature of *probouleumata* rather than the exercise of some predilection for precis on the part of the secretary. Prior to the 360s the secretary was in any event a non-expert member of the *Boule* and his period of service was a single prytany — unlikely attributes for a person prepared to produce various versions of a decree. (Was the then amateur status of the secretariat the reason why honorific decree texts were so anodyne?). Alliances, treaties and the like for obvious reasons had to be longer and more specific in all periods.

<sup>60</sup> *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 686 + 687 + *SEG* 56.190.

<sup>61</sup> *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 657 + *SEG* 46.132.

<sup>62</sup> T.L. Shear, *Hesperia Supplement* XVII (1978) = *SEG* 28.60 (+ 52.108).

<sup>63</sup> *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 666 + 667 = Osborne (1981/83) D78A, 78B.



Quite apart from this, the regular and explicit instruction to the secretary is ἀναγράφαι τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ, and it is difficult to see how this can be interpreted as an instruction to inscribe bits and pieces (or ‘extracts’ to use the terminology of Sickinger)<sup>64</sup> of a decree on a stone *stèle*. It is remarkable too that no trace survives of instructions to set a copy of a decree in the public archive, if that was the repository of official texts rather than of copies thereof.<sup>65</sup> And in this regard the frequently cited circumstance that in the late second century Onasos refers to a copy of a decree passed more than 150 years earlier which he consulted in the Metroon is of no relevance.<sup>66</sup> For obviously in the case of ancient decrees it would have been easier to sift through documents in the archive rather than look for *stelai*, which might or might not still be *in situ* on the akropolis, or wherever,<sup>67</sup> so that a search in the archive does not point to the superiority of the archival texts so much as to their longevity and relative ease of discovery.<sup>68</sup> In reality the available evidence strongly suggests that the inscribed version was the ‘official’ text.<sup>69</sup> Thus

<sup>64</sup> Sickinger (1999) 63.

<sup>65</sup> It is true that in *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 583 there is an instruction (as restored) that [τὸ]ν δημόσιον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Μητρώου τὸ ψήφισμα καθ’ ὃ ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἢ ἰσοτέλε[ια παραδοῦναι τῷ γραμματεῖ. τὸν δὲ] γραμματέα παρα[λαβόντα ἀναγράφαι τὴν ἰσοτέλειαν] προσαναγράψαν[τα τὸ ψήφισμα τόδε καὶ τὸ πρότερον γεν]όμενον αὐτοῖς ...]. Sickinger (1999) 119 implies that the earlier decree here was not committed to stone so that the text had to be recovered from the Metroon. But the issue here is one of consultation not erection — and the official can hardly have handed over the *stèle* to the secretary! The orators, such as Demosthenes and Aischines, naturally tended to conduct their researches in the archive, but this does not mean that the texts were fuller or more authoritative, only that they were more readily accessible there. It is clear too that on at least some occasions the orators did consult (or claimed to consult) *stelai* (cf. Sickinger (1999) 160ff.).

<sup>66</sup> *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 971 = Osborne (1981/83) D102 + Lawton (1995) 157 plate 96 no. 187 (surely a privately erected monument). For comments on this decree cf. Sickinger (1999) 119, 171.

<sup>67</sup> *Stelai* could, of course, be re-used after a period of time had elapsed (cf. *Agora* XV p. 3) or just disappear with the passage of time (cf. *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 172 where it is decreed that a proxeny granted to his ancestors is to be re-activated for a certain Democharis [ἐπειδὴ] ἡφάνισται αὐτῷ[ι ἢ στήλῃ]).

<sup>68</sup> As any ‘armchair epigraphist’ would agree!

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Thomas (1992) 132f.; (2003) 230f. It is noteworthy that even some advocates of selectivity accept that the inscribed text was the ‘official text’ — cf. Rhodes (1997) 3 n. 4; Rhodes & Osborne (2003) xv. The latter (*loc. cit.*) advert to the discrepancies that can occur when there are two copies of a text, suggesting that “the Greeks ... seem to have had the potentially dangerous belief that, as long as the sense was correctly recorded, small differences in wording did not matter”. This is surely questionable, particularly in the light of the many minor corrections made by cutters (for which cf. Osborne (1973) 249ff., (1975) 159ff.) and the quite remarkable closeness of wording where there are two copies of a text. Thus, for example, in the lengthy decree for Strombichos (cf. n. 63 above) the only discrepancy is the omission of a single word in one of the copies (surely a masonic error where in a non-*stoichedon* text the cutter’s eye has jumped from one

in a decree of 362/1<sup>70</sup> the text reads: ... ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἐξετασθῇ πάντα κ[αὶ] ἀναγραφῇ, τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς ἀναγράψαντα [ἐν] στήλῃ λιθίνῃ στήσαι ἔμπροσθεν τῆς χαλκοθήκῃς] .... ποιήσασθαι δὲ τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς ἀντίγραφα ἐκ τῶν στηλῶν τὰ ἀναγεγραμμένα [πε]ρὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ χαλκοθήκῃ. This would be an extraordinary instruction to the secretary if the *stèle* was not the official, accurate and authoritative copy. Other instances offer confirmation. Thus (for examples) in the so-called Prytaneion Decree of the 430s there are two references to τὰ ἐν τεῖ στέλει γεγραμμένα<sup>71</sup> as authoritative, and in the decree of 338/7 for Phormion and Karphinas of Akarnania<sup>72</sup> part of the motivation clause for a re-affirmation of citizenship for them reads as follows: [ἐ]πειδὴ δὲ Φορμίωνα τὸν Φορμίωνος καὶ Καρ[φ]ίν[α πάππο]ν ἐποιήσατο Ἀθηναῖον ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων κ[αὶ] τ[οῦ]ς ἐκείνου ἐκ[γόν]ους καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα καθ' ὃ ἡ [π]οιή[σι]ς ἐγένετο ἀναγέ[γ]ραπται ἐν ἀκροπόλει . . .<sup>73</sup> There are no instances of an instruction to put the decree in the archive.<sup>74</sup>

Sundry other matters tend to support the view that the inscribed *stelai* constituted the 'official' texts. Firstly, there are the provisions in some decrees for the destruction of existing *stelai* which may now be deemed inappropriate. Thus in the decree of the Second Athenian Confederacy<sup>75</sup> the *Boule* is empowered to destroy any *stelai* in Athens which are unfavourable to prospective allies ([ὅ]τωι δὲ τ[υ]γχάν[η]ι τῶν πόλεων [τῶν ποιομένων] τὴν συμμαχίαν πρὸς Ἀθην[αί]ος σ[τ]ήλαι ὅσαι Ἀθήνησιν ἀνεπιτήδειοι, τ[ῇ]μ βολὴν τὴν αἰεὶ βολεύουσαν κυρίαν εἶναι καθαίρειν).<sup>76</sup> Secondly, it is well attested that new regimes of a radically

instance of the letter *pi* to the next and thus omitted a single word). *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 662 and 663 (= Osborne (1981/83) D74A + B) have identical texts, but they were not, as commonly believed, copies but decrees for two distinct aides of Lysimachos (Byrne (2010b) 124ff.).

<sup>70</sup> *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 120.22f.

<sup>71</sup> *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 131.14ff. (cf. Osborne (1981) 164).

<sup>72</sup> *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 237 = Osborne (1981/83) D16.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 660 (281/0) for the *demos* of Tenedos, where the (fragmentary) *stèle* contains the lower part of a decree of the fourth century, followed by a decree from 281/0 in which the secretary is instructed to have this decree inscribed on the *stèle* which contained the earlier decree. Obviously the Tenedians knew the location of the *stèle* and regarded it as the official monument. For a rather similar case just a few years earlier cf. *Agora* XVI 162b = Osborne (1981/83) D67b (cf. Osborne (2009a)).

<sup>74</sup> Sickinger (1999) 116ff. discusses sundry references in inscribed decrees to the deposition of items in the Metroon, but it is clear that in these cases the action is to file a report or inventory *in pursuance of the decree*. The decree itself is to be inscribed upon a *stèle*.

<sup>75</sup> *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 43 = Rhodes & Osborne (2003) no. 22.31ff.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. *SEG* 26.72 (= Stroud (1974) 158ff.) = Rhodes & Osborne (2003) no. 25.55ff.: εἰ δέ τι ψήφισμα γέγραπται πο ἐστήλῃ πα[ρὰ τ]όνδε τὸν νόμον, καθελέτω ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς βολ[ῆ]ς. Cf. also *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 98.9-12, 116.39. The clear implication is that these

different complexion were in the habit of destroying *stelai* erected by their predecessors which were deemed hostile. Thus numerous *stelai* from the immediately post 404 years are re-inscribed versions of *stelai* destroyed by the Thirty — for example, the decree for the sons of Ape-mantos of Thasos, for whom ἐπειδὴ καθιρέθη ἡ στήλη [ἐ]πὶ τῶν τριάκοντα ἐν ἧ ἡ[ν α]ὐτοῖς ἡ προξενία, ἀναγράψ[αι] τὴν στήλην τὸν γραμμα[τ]έα τῆς βολῆς.<sup>77</sup> Later the monumental *stèle* for Euphron of Sikyon contains two decrees — the first a re-publication of the decree voted for him in 323/2, the second (318/7) a decree of the restored democracy authorizing his rehabilitation and the erection of new *stelai* to replace those demolished by the oligarchic regime of 321/0-319/8.<sup>78</sup> Finally, there is the decree for the *damnatio memoriae* of the Antigonids effected in 200, which, according to Livy,<sup>79</sup> enacted *ut Philippi statuæ imagines omnes nominaque earum, item maiorum eius virile ac muliebre secus omnium tollerentur deleterenturque, diesque festi sacra sacerdotes, quæ ipsius maiorumque eius honoris causa instituta essent, omnia profanerentur; loca quoque in quibus positum aliquid inscriptumve honoris eius causa fuisset detestabilia esse*. This encompassed (or certainly was meant to encompass) the erasure of references to the Antigonid royalty in all *stelai*. In practice, as has been demonstrated by Sean Byrne,<sup>80</sup> Athenian zeal was not fully matched by action and the exercise was not as comprehensive as commonly assumed, so that (whether from indolence or, more likely, for religious reasons)<sup>81</sup> the *stelai* on the akropolis were left unscathed. Elsewhere the exercise was effected with considerable care and it is a clear indication of the official status accorded to publicly erected *stelai*.<sup>82</sup>

are regarded as official documents. It is interesting that nothing is said about the copies in the archive — were they annotated as being no longer valid, if not destroyed?

<sup>77</sup> *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 6. For other examples see *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 9, 52.

<sup>78</sup> *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 448 = Osborne (1981/83) D24 and 38 (D38.65ff.: εἶναι τὰς δωρεῖας κυρίας Εὐφρόνι πάσας ..... καὶ τὰς στήλας] τὰς καθαιρεθείσας, ἐν αἷς αἱ δωρεαὶ ἦσαν γεγ[ραμμέν]αι καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα, ἀναγράψαι καὶ ἀναθεῖναι τ[ὸν γραμ]ματέα τῆς βουλῆς τῇ μὲν ἐν ἀκροπόλει τὴν δὲ παρὰ τ[ὸν] Δία τὸν Σωτῆρα καθάπερ ὁ δῆμος ἐψηφίσατο [πρότε]ρον, προσαναγράψαι δὲ καὶ τότε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν ἀμ[φοτ]έραις ταῖς στήλαις ).

<sup>79</sup> Livy 31.44.4-5. For the date see Byrne (2010a).

<sup>80</sup> Byrne (2010a)

<sup>81</sup> For the significance of the display of *stelai* in sanctuaries such as the akropolis cf. Culasso Gastaldi (2010).

<sup>82</sup> Examples of such politically motivated *rasurae* are numerous (for a list cf. Byrne (2010a) 162f.) and are attested on documents as early as 304/3, indicating incidentally that these *stelai* were still *in situ* and legible over a century later. The exercise itself would surely have been pointless if inscribed texts were not official and hardly ever read. Against the view that inscriptions were seldom read cf. Stroud (1998) 46f.

The archive is never mentioned in any of the foregoing circumstances, so that to promote its holdings as the official texts of which *stelai*, publicly erected and frequently set in major precincts,<sup>83</sup> contained only extracts is unjustified. It is also in conflict with the commonly expressed rationale for public inscription in terms either of public information or (in the case of honorific decrees) of gratitude and/or stimulus to benefaction.<sup>84</sup> For it is obviously unlikely that these objectives will be achieved if the decrees are not publicly displayed, and being consigned solely to the archive can hardly be equated with providing for public visibility.<sup>85</sup> In the case of alliances and treaties it was obviously important that they be available for public scrutiny

<sup>83</sup> For the location of public decrees cf. Liddel (2003), noting that the vast majority (85%) were set up on the akropolis prior to ca. 301 and that in the period ca. 301 to 229 this figure dropped to just under 50%, with some 40% being placed in the Agora. The incidence in the third century of prytany decrees, which were set up in the *prytanikon*, was undoubtedly a factor.

<sup>84</sup> For lists of the relevant formulae cf. Henry (1996) 105ff.; Hedrick (1999) 431ff.

<sup>85</sup> Thus (to give a single instance from a multitude of cases) the exhortation in *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 663 = Osborne (1981/83) D74 ... [ὅπως ἐφάμι]λλον ἤι **πᾶσι** χρεί[ας παρέ]χεσθαι τῶι δῆμῳ εἰδότας ὅτι [κομιοῦνται χάρι]τας καταξίας τῶν εὐε[ργ]ε[τημάτων] would make no sense if the decree was not to be publicly displayed and, significantly, could hardly act as a stimulus for emulation if public recognition was not guaranteed. The stress that the information is for **all** is also relevant (cf. *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 196, 222 [= Osborne (1981/83) D22], 269, 555, etc.).

The principle of visibility by way of an inscribed *stèle* in the interests of rewarding benefactors and stimulating others is clearly evidenced (for example) in *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 391 = Osborne (1981/83) D37; also in sundry non-state decrees, as, for instance, in a decree of the soldiers based at Sounion (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1270) where the text reads: ἀ[ναγ]ράψαι δὲ τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στήλῃ ἐις λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Πο[σε]ιδῶνος, ὅπως ἂν εἰδῶσι πάντες οἱ φι[λο]τιμεῖσθαι βουλόμενοι ὅτι χάρι[τας] ἀξίας ἀπολήσονται τῶν εὐεργετημάτων. Outside of Athens there are numerous instances where the inscription on a stone *stèle* is linked to public information and encouragement of benefaction. Cf. (for examples) *IG* XII.5 802 (a Tenian decree from the third century): ἀναγράψαι δὲ καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα τὸδε τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου εἰς στήλην καὶ στήσαι εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν [τοῦ Πο]σειδῶνος ἵν' εἰδῶσι πάντες ὅτι ὁ δῆμος [ὁ Τηνίων] ἐπίσταται χάριτας ἀποδιδόναι [τοῖς τιμῶσιν] τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ [< τῆς > Ἀμφιτρίτης]; *IG* VII 1.1 (from Megara – late third century): ἀγγράψαι δὲ τὸδε τὸ δόγμα τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ δάμου εἰς στάλαν λιθίναν καὶ ἀνθέμεν εἰς τὸ Ὀλυμπιεῖον ὅπως εἰδῶντι πάντες ὅτι ὁ δῆμος [ὁ Μ]εγαρέων τιμῇ τοὺς ἀγαθόν τι πράσσοντας ἢ λόγῳ ἢ ἔργῳ ὑπὲρ τῶν πόλιος ἢ ὑπὲρ τῶν κομῶν; cf. *IG* VII 1.2: ἀγγράψαι δὲ τὸδε τὸ δόγμα ... εἰς στάλαν καὶ ἀνθέμεν εἰς τὸ Ὀλυμπιεῖον [ὅπως φα]νερὸν ἦι ὅτι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Μεγαρέων [τιμῇ] τοὺς [εἰ]ϋ[νους] καὶ χρησίμους αὐτῶι; *AM* 72 (1957) no. 57 (from Samos - 270/259): ὅπως δὲ καὶ πάντες εἰδῶσιν ὅτι τῶι δῆμῳ τῶ[ι] Σαμίων ἀπτριόν ἐστι τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν καιρῶν αὐτῶι χρησίμους οὓσιν ἀξίας χάριτας ἀποδιδόναι τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν φιλοτιμίας ἀναγράψαι τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ ἀναθεῖναι εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἥρας; *IG* IX 2.1230 (a decree of the *demos* of Phalanna in Perrhaibia – second century): ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸδε τὸ [ψ]ήφισμα εἰς στήλην λιθίνην ὡς καλλι[σ]την κα[ὶ] θεῖν[α] [πρ]ὸ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Πο[λ]ιάδος [Ἀ]θηνᾶς ὅπως εἰδῶσι πάντες ὅτι ὁ δῆμος τῶν Φαλανναίων ἐπίσταται χάρι[τι]ν [ἀ]ποδιδόναι τοῖς αὐτὸν εὐεργετοῦσιν.

and equally obvious that the text was authoritative — in short the official text — and this is surely certified by the fact that the references to such instruments are always to the inscribed *stele*, never to the text in the archive.<sup>86</sup>

#### THE CASE AGAINST SELECTIVITY OF INSCRIPTION

Acceptance that the *stele* was regarded as containing the official text of a decree decisively weakens the case for selectivity of inscription, which has attracted so many adherents.<sup>87</sup> Few of the latter set down any clear criteria for selection<sup>88</sup> and, when they do, most usually do so in reference to honorific decrees. Walbank, however, seems to take a broader view, writing “not all decrees resulted in publication on stone: the texts of new decrees were routinely placed among the records kept in the Metroon, but their inscription on stone or bronze seems to have been an exceptional procedure, and in the case of honorific decrees, an additional honour conferred upon the recipient.”<sup>89</sup> It is surely difficult to believe that alliances and treaties could be treated in so cavalier a fashion — as the preserved decrees make plain, they were public documents which were set up on *stelai* in sacred precincts by all parties and their texts were adverted to subsequently as points of reference.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>86</sup> Thus, for example, in the decree of alliance of Athens and Chios in 384/3 (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 34 = Rhodes & Osborne (2003) no. 20) it is stated (19ff.) that συμμάχος δὲ ποιεῖ[σι]σ[θα]ι [Χί]ος ἐπ’ ἐλευ[θε]ρίαι καὶ αὐτονομί[α]ι, μὴ παραβαίνο[ν]τας τῶν ἐν ταῖς στήλαις γεγραμμένων [πε]ρὶ τῆς ἐρήνης μηδέν, and the *stele* is to be set up ἐν ἀκροπόλει [πε]ρὶ ὅσθεν τοῦ ἀγάλματος. See also *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 76 (decree of alliance with the Bottiaians of 422) where both parties are to set up *stelai* in a sacred precinct and to include the name of the archon (τὰς δὲ χουνθέκας τάσδε καὶ) τὸν [ῥόκκον κατα]θῆναι Ἀθηναῖος μὲν ἐμ πόλει ἀναγράφ[αν]τας ἐστέλει λιθίνει καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν [πόλεων] τῶν Βοττιαίων τῶν χουντιθεμένων τὴν φιλίαν καὶ τὴν χουνμαχίαν, καὶ ἐπιγράφει ἐν τ[ῇ] στέλει τὸ ἄρχοντος τὸ ὄνομα ἐφ’ ὃ ἐγένοντο αἱ χουντιθεθεκαὶ Βοττιαῖοι δ’ ἐν στέλει λιθίναις ἀναγράφ[αν]τες καταθέντων ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς κατὰ πόλεις, ἐπιγράφ[αν]τες ἐν ταῖς στέλαις τὸν ἀρχόντων τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν Βοττιαίων ἐφ’ ὃν ἐγένοντο αἱ χουντιθεθεκαὶ. See also *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 96, 107, 116, 127, etc. The re-inscription of the prescripts of the treaties with Rhegion and Leontinoi provide further evidence for the significance of the *stelai* (*IG* i<sup>3</sup> 53 and 54).

<sup>87</sup> Cf. n. 2 above for some prominent adherents; also further below. Occasionally there is some opacity. Thus Rhodes (2001) 36 writes ... “not every public document was inscribed” (rather than every ‘decree’).

<sup>88</sup> Thus Sickinger (1999) 91f. simply asserts that there is no evidence to suggest that all decrees were inscribed; but, given the nature of the evidence and the persistent references to the *stelai* in decrees, the onus is surely on him (and other advocates of this viewpoint) to produce evidence that all decrees were not inscribed.

<sup>89</sup> Walbank (1988) 57 n. 4. For similar sentiments cf. Tracy (1990) 235f.

<sup>90</sup> See the references in n. 86 above for examples.

In the case of honorific decrees the belief that only a selection was published on *stelai* is pervasive and it is commonly asserted that such publication constituted an additional honour. Walbank and Hansen<sup>91</sup> have touched upon this issue, implying that the likely number of decrees passed annually would make universal publication impossible. Quite apart from being entirely hypothetical, this would surely be extraordinary. In the first place, as argued above, it is inconsistent with the variously expressed rationale for the award of honours. Secondly, it suggests that there was a 'second class' set of honorands (the majority, according to Walbank) who were favoured only by a mention in the Assembly<sup>92</sup> and subsequent record in the archive. This is surely incompatible with the exhortation to all to contemplate the awards to benefactors in the sure knowledge that they will be similarly recompensed if they perform benefactions. It also fails to take into account the inextricable link between public honours and public recognition, and in this regard it may not be irrelevant that the formulation of grants of *proxenia* and *euergesia* in the fifth century was predominantly in the form ἀναγράφαι ... πρόξενον καὶ εὐεργέτην.<sup>93</sup> Hansen, writing with reference to the period 355-322, believes that at least nine decrees

<sup>91</sup> Hansen (1984); Walbank (1988) 57 n. 4

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Hansen (1987) 123: "Unless the honorary decree was published on stone, the proclamation in the *ekklesia* was the only form of publication of honours voted by the people". And this, of course, would have been an exceedingly cursory mention on Hansen's interpretation of the *procheirotomia* (noted above).

IG ii<sup>2</sup> 220 has been broached as a possible candidate for a decree mentioned only in the Assembly, but not inscribed (cf. Lambert (2011) 198-200). It contains two decrees — the first apparently from the archonship of Lykiskos (344/3) providing, at the request of envoys from Pellana, for the inscription and payment for a decree moved by Aristonymos [ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι ἔτε]ι; the second from the ninth prytany of the preceding year, presumably a copy of the said decree of Aristonymos. The key reference to the previous year is, of course, wholly restored, but, if accepted, it need not mean anything more than that the original decree had not yet been attended to (or possibly had been overlooked) by the secretary. Certainly it cannot stand as the foundation for the thesis that some decrees were not inscribed but simply consigned to the Metroon. In reality this case probably favours universal inscription — for obviously the failure to inscribe the text (which was clearly an inter-state instrument, where the *stele* text was regarded as authoritative) was felt to be an affront which required the despatch of envoys to have the matter rectified. If there had never been any intention to commit the text to stone this would have been clear at the time when the decree was moved and acquiesced in by the Pellanian representatives.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. IG i<sup>3</sup> 23, 24, 27, 69, 80, 110, 117, 126, etc. The practice of inscription of decisions on *stelai* was not restricted to public decrees; it is widely evidenced in the honorific decrees of demes, *thiasotai*, *orgeones*, military units, etc, and the obvious rationale is public (visible) recognition. (See n. 85 above). The bitter comment of Hypereides (*OCT* fr.79) in respect of a decree of Demades for an Olynthian περί οὗ πολλῶι ἂν δικαιότερον ἐν τοῖς δέξομαι τοῖς στήλῃ σταθεῖν ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἱεροῖς strongly suggests that a *stele* was the normal outcome for a decree.



were passed in each meeting of the Assembly and so estimates an average of about 390 decrees annually; Walbank, using the survival rate for inscribed decrees of about 4% (as calculated by Hansen) advances the possibility of “a minimum of 350 and perhaps as many as 1,100 decrees for each year between 307 and 301.”<sup>94</sup> These figures — except for Walbank’s minimum, which I would regard as being closer to an average figure — seem (to me) to be considerably inflated, not the least since they assume that all meetings of the Assembly were regaled with a full complement of decrees, whereas it is surely likely that many meetings, especially in the winter months, were brief and short on decree proposals.<sup>95</sup> Given the overwhelming predominance of honorific decrees after the middle of the fourth century, they also tend to assume a virtually limitless queue of candidates year in year out, which is certainly most unlikely in the third century.<sup>96</sup>

From the 360s onwards references in decrees to an expense account for their publication are regular,<sup>97</sup> and doubtless the secretary had to account for expenditure from this fund in his *euthynai*. The amount available in this fund is not specified, but it may be relevant that for a short period prior to the 360s reference is made to the ‘TenTalent Fund’ for the funding of decrees.<sup>98</sup> This is a substantial sum (= 60,000 drachmai) and at a going rate of 20 to 30 drachmai for most *stelai*<sup>99</sup> even a

<sup>94</sup> The numbers of attested decrees from 307-301 were undoubtedly higher than usual, given the war situation and the need to maintain good relations with Demetrios Poliorketes by courting his numerous aides, but the prospect of thirty decrees per meeting is surely incredible.

<sup>95</sup> Given the small number of decrees preserved from any given year, it is obviously necessary to be cautious in drawing conclusions about agenda sizes, but the following breakdown for decrees per prytany in the period 300-228 may not be entirely irrelevant: I: 3; II: 6; III: 9; IV: 5; V: 4; VI: 3; VII: 3; VIII: 3; IX: 12; X: 7; XI: 5; XII: 14. The four ‘winter’ prytanies (V-VIII) accounting for one third of the meetings of the year, yield only 17% of the decrees (whereas the busy last prytany yields some 19% — closely followed by the ninth prytany (16%), which usually witnessed numerous meetings before and after the *Dionysia*).

<sup>96</sup> On Walbank’s maximum figure, given a percentage of at least 80% for honorific decrees (see further Appendix I below), some 800 plus candidates for honours would have been presented annually (i.e. at least 24 per meeting right through the year). This would imply at least 5000 for the six year period — surely incredible.

<sup>97</sup> For a summary account cf. Henry (1989).

<sup>98</sup> Cf. *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 43 = Rhodes & Osborne (2003) no. 22; 141 = Rhodes & Osborne (2003) no. 21. For this fund cf. Rhodes (1972) 103; Henry (1982) 91ff. See also Jones (1969) 102, who implies that this is to be identified as the regular expense account fund of the *ekklesia*.

<sup>99</sup> For a useful list cf. Henry (1989) 259f, 268, 273. Occasionally a larger sum was allocated — for instance, 60 drachmai for the rather exceptional *stèle* of the Second Athenian Confederacy (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 43 = Rhodes & Osborne (2003) no. 22); 40 drachmai for a lengthy text of ca. 330 (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 410); and 50 drachmai for the massive and ornate *stèle* for Euphron of Sikyon (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 448 = Osborne (1981/83) D38 + *SEG* 44.43 + Lawton (1995) 107f. Plate 28 no. 54). Somewhat remarkably the highly impressive *stèle* for King Arybbas of Molossia (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 226 + = Osborne (1981/83) no. 14 + Lawton (1995) 134f. Plate 65 no. 122) was only accorded 30 drachmai — presumably the honorand provided additional funds.



quarter of such an allocation would have been sufficient for at least 500 *stelai*, leaving a considerable residue for other expenses.<sup>100</sup> The allocation of so substantial a sum certainly suggests that the possibility of a large number of *stelai* annually was recognized. Naturally it cannot be taken for granted that the allocation remained at such a level subsequently, but it is surely not without significance that the only available evidence implies that the expense fund was set at a level capable of dealing comfortably with the likely maximum number of decrees annually.<sup>101</sup>

The issue of the cutters cannot be ignored in all of this. Stephen Tracy has collected and analysed the evidence for the period 340 to 86 in three important books,<sup>102</sup> but for the present purpose the key issue is whether there would have been enough active cutters to deal with the projected volume of decrees in the various periods, and specifically in the period 300 to 228. In his books and other contributions Tracy has addressed the mode of ancient inscribing (noting that in the Hellenistic period the letters were smaller and more lightly, and hence more swiftly, incised than in modern times)<sup>103</sup> and he has concluded that an ancient cutter could have inscribed up to about 100 letters per hour in a non-*stoichedon* text.<sup>104</sup> Probably *stoichedon* texts (rarely

From 286 the standard allocation appears to have been 10 drachmai (except in the case of the lengthy decree granting Philippides of Kephale the city's highest honours in 283/2, where 20 drachmai was granted — *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 657 + *SEG* 46.132), but in the course of 281/0 a change is attested — thus in *Agora* XVI 182 (Prytany II) a sum of 10 drachmai is allocated, but in *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 660B + *SEG* 42.97 (Prytany XI) and regularly thereafter (unless *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 808 = Osborne (1981/83) D87 can be dated to the mid 230s — perhaps improbable, but cf. Osborne (2010) 129; also (1981/83) II 172ff. for difficulties in a date in the 280s) reference is made to τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα, suggesting an adequate allocation of funds annually on a permanent basis. For divergent views on what was covered by the allocation cf. *SEG* 44.257, 48.25.

<sup>100</sup> Such as presenting crowns, providing expenses for envoys and the like. Cf. (e.g.) *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 124; Jones (1969) 102.

<sup>101</sup> In 303/2, a year of unusually high activity in the Assembly, it seems possible that towards the very end of the year the normal allocation proved insufficient, so that a supplement was needed. Cf. Osborne (1981/83) 126 n. 534. There are otherwise no obvious hints of insufficiency in the allocation.

<sup>102</sup> Tracy (1990), (1995), (2003).

<sup>103</sup> See especially Tracy (1975) 116ff., 125f.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Tracy (1970) 324 n. 28 (“assuming ... one hundred letters per hour”); (1975) 119 (estimating a particular cutter's output at between 70 and 100 letters per hour).

A possible insight into the timeframe for the inscription of a *stèle* (albeit for a *stoichedon* text from the 360s) is provided by *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 141 for Straton, King of Sidon. For the secretary is instructed τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα τότε ἀναγραφάτω ... ἐστὶ γὰρ λιθίνῃ δέκα ἡμερῶν καὶ καταθέτω ἐν ἀκροπόλει. The 36 preserved lines of text yield 972 letters and it is likely that at least 10-15 lines (say 300-400 letters) are lost, giving a minimum for the whole of some 1300/1400 letters — consonant with the allocation of 30 drachmai for inscription (texts of 1000 letters or fewer at this time attracting 20 drachmai — e.g. *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 106 (ca. 720 letters); 109 = Osborne (1981/83) D11 (ca. 960 letters); 140 (ca. 960 letters) etc). It is possible that this provision was exceptional, or at least a short-lived, since it is only attested in one other

evidenced after the middle of the third century) would involve a slightly slower rate. Naturally, such a projected output is conjectural and there are other variables, such as hours and days of work, so that conclusions are necessarily tentative. But, assuming that in the period 300 to 228 there were at most 30 decrees per prytany (i.e. 10 per meeting — probably too high a figure for every prytany) producing some 75,000 letters,<sup>105</sup> this would create an expectation of the full time equivalent of between six and nine active practitioners — which is surely unproblematic.<sup>106</sup>

In conclusion it may reasonably be suggested that the perceptibly official status of inscribed *stelai* of public decrees implies that all must have been inscribed and that there is no conclusive evidence to indicate that such a practice would have been beyond the availability of funding and of letter-cutters.

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decree of the mid-fourth century (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 287 – ἐντο[ς] δέκα [ἡμερῶν]) and restored in two others (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 206, 253) but it none the less provides an insight into the timeframe regarded as feasible for the inscription of a reasonably long text in the *stoichedon* style.

<sup>105</sup> Even approximate calculations are, of course, hazardous, not the least because so few *stelai* have survived intact, but the following may serve as a rough guide. In the period 286–263, when most texts were *stoichedon*, a few decrees are very lengthy (notably those granting high honours to Philippides of Kephale (just under 3000 letters) and to Kallias of Sphetos (almost 5000 letters), the Decree of Khremonides (ca. 5000 letters) and presumably prytany and (once per year) ephebic decrees) but most are in the range of 1000–2000 letters. In the years 262–228, when texts were increasingly cut non-*stoichedon*, there are a few long decrees, notably that granting *sitesis* for Phaidros of Sphetos (at least 4500 letters) in addition to prytany and ephebic decrees, but the remainder are in the range 1200–2500 letters. (By contrast, in the Lykourgan Period, where all the texts are *stoichedon*, the average range is ca. 700–1600 letters (with some still shorter and a small number much longer, notably the *stèle* *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 360 = Schwenk (1985) no. 68) containing multiple decrees in favour of Herakleides of Salamis). In the period 307–301 the volume of decrees (usually *stoichedon*) is very large, but few are intact, so that the average range of ca. 1100–2500 letters is unreliable).

Thus, taking the period 286 to 228 as a whole and assuming 30 decrees per prytany, of which 5 at most were lengthy (say 5000 letters) and 25 were of average length (say 2000 letters) the total output for a prytany would be 75,000 letters — and it should be emphasized that this estimate is surely on the high side, given the low incidence of very long decrees, the relatively large number of texts with fewer than 1500 letters, and the unlikelihood that every prytany had a lengthy agenda. Anyway, assuming a figure of ca. 75,000 letters for a prytany, and using a rate of ca. 100 letters per hour for six hours per day of inscribing for 20 days, the total for a prytany could be accomplished by 6 or 7 ‘full time’ practitioners (i.e. 6 x 600 letters per day; 600 x 20 days = 12,000 letters per prytany – so 6 or 7 practitioners). In his account of these years Tracy (2003) identifies 5 significant cutters for the period 286–263 and 4 for the period 262–228 (one very prolific practitioner spanning the whole period 286 to 239) accounting for some 138 texts — leaving some 126 as the work of unidentified cutters. This indicates that availability of cutters is unlikely to have been a problem.

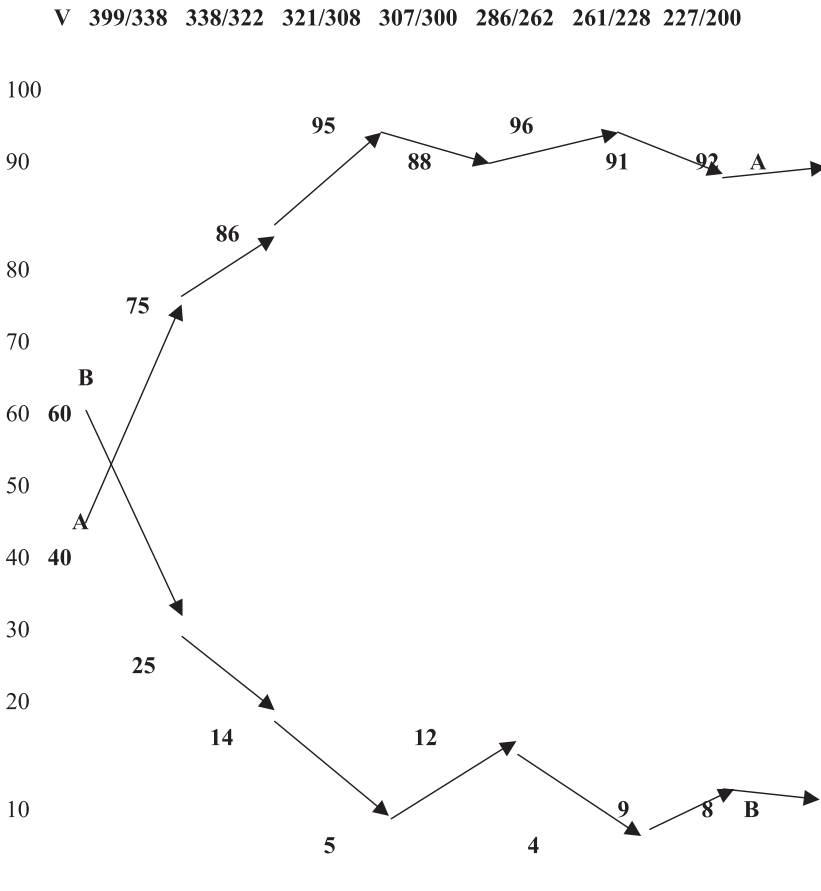
<sup>106</sup> Tracy (1990) 227 estimates some 15 to 20 cutters capable of dealing with long decrees between 200 and 160 and twice that number between 140 and 100.

## APPENDIX I

## HONORIFIC AND OTHER DECREES

The following two tables illustrate in approximate percentage terms the balance between honorific and non-honorific decrees from the fifth century to the end of the third century.<sup>107</sup>

TABLE I  
Honorific and non-honorific decrees



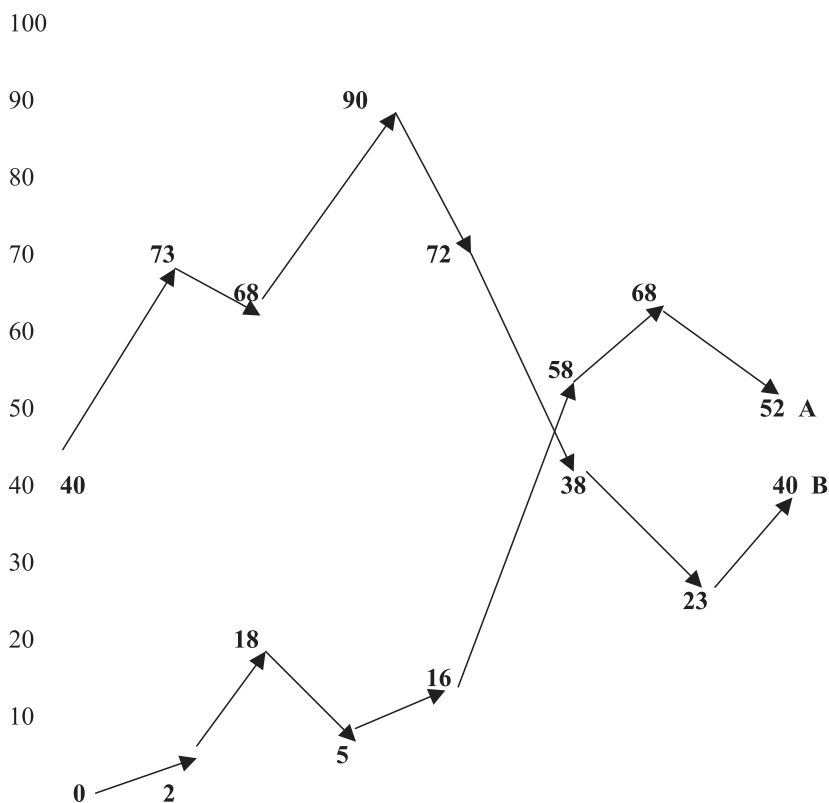
(A = honorific decrees; B = non-honorific decrees)

<sup>107</sup> The percentages have been calculated on the basis of decrees where the content is sufficiently well preserved to certify their nature.

TABLE II

## Honorific decrees for citizens and foreigners

V 399/338 338/322 321/308 307/300 286/262 261/228 227/200



(A = citizen honours; B = honours for foreigners)

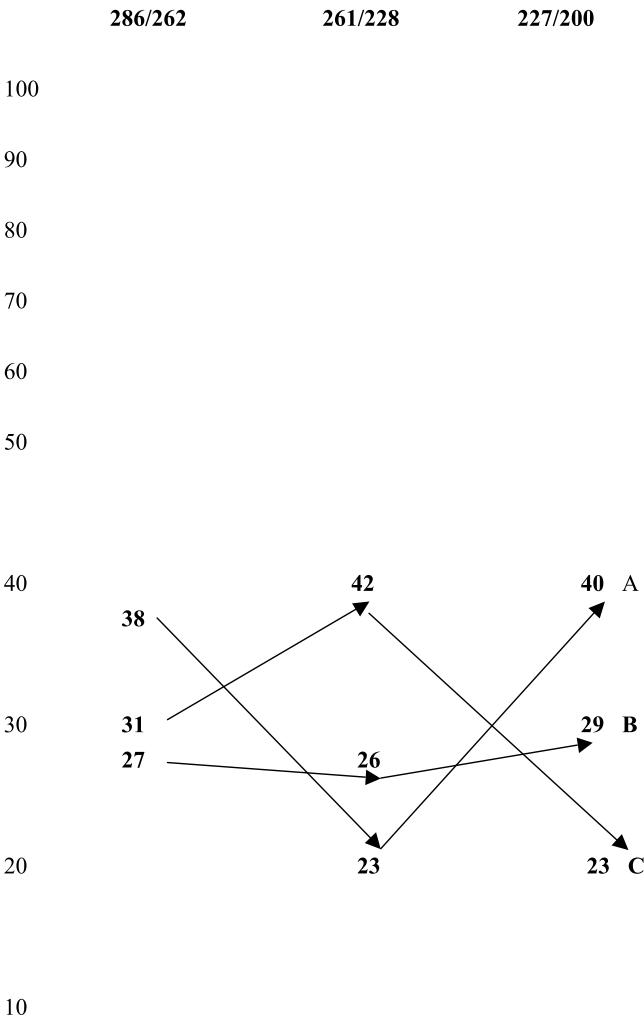
It should be noted that in the citizen category colleges of officials and magistrates, ephebes, and prytaneis as well as individuals have been included. See Table III below for the balance between prytaneis and others in the period 286-200.<sup>108</sup>

In the case of foreign recipients of honours block grants have been included.

<sup>108</sup> Prytany decrees are not regularly attested prior to 286.

TABLE III

Honorific decrees for *prytaneis*, other citizens and foreigners  
(286-200)



(A = foreigners; B = *prytaneis*; C = other citizens)

## APPENDIX II

## NON-PROBOULEUMATIC DECREES (EXCLUDING PRYTANY DECREES)

## I. 286/5-263/2

- (1) *IG ii*<sup>2</sup> 651 (286/5): proxeny and *enktesis* for Habron and Matrias (in connection with the grain supply)
- (2) *IG ii*<sup>2</sup> 653 + *SEG* 47.131 (285/4): crown and two bronze statues for King Spartokos for a gift of grain and promise of further assistance)
- (3) *IG ii*<sup>2</sup> 654 + Osborne *Naturalization* D 76 (285/4): crown, citizenship and statue for King Audoleon of the Paionians (for a gift of grain and promise of further assistance)
- (4) *IG ii*<sup>2</sup> 655 (285/4): crown and [ - - ] for an aide of King Audoleon (for delivery of grain from Audoleon)<sup>109</sup>
- (5) *Agora* XVI 181 + *SEG* 48.108 (282/1): for the archon of 283/2 (Euthios) and his *paredroi*
- (6) *IG ii*<sup>2</sup> 672 and *SEG* 38.74 (280/79): for the hipparch of Lemnos<sup>110</sup>
- (7) *IG ii*<sup>2</sup> 684 + 752 + *SEG* 54.192 (276/5): for the *demos* of Tenedos
- (8) *Agora* XVI 186 (272/1): for the *epimeletai* assisting the priest of Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira
- (9) *IG ii*<sup>2</sup> 686 + 687 + *SEG* 56.190 (269/8): the Decree of Khremonides.

## II. 262/1-228/7

- (1) Diogenes Laertios 7.10-12 (262/1): posthumous honours for Zenon of Kition
- (2) *IG ii*<sup>2</sup> 477 + *SEG* 39.124; 50.1 (260/59): for an aide of Antigonos Gonatas
- (3) *IG ii*<sup>2</sup> 780 + *SEG* 41.54 (two decrees – 252/1 and 251/0): for the *agonothetes* Agathaïos of Prospalta in the regular post-*Dionysia* ἐκκλησία ἐν Διονύσῳ
- (4) *IG ii*<sup>2</sup> 680 + *SEG* 48.109 (250/49): acceptance of invitation to the Aitolian *soteria*
- (5) *IG ii*<sup>2</sup> 670 (241/0): crown and provision for ἄλλο ἀγαθόν for Thibron

<sup>109</sup> Nos. (3) and (4) were proposed by the same speaker (Simonides of Hagnous) in the same meeting of the Assembly on Prytany XII 25.

<sup>110</sup> Two copies of a decree. Cf. Rhodes (1972) 264.

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## THE BIRTH-DATE OF ARSINOE II PHILADELPHUS\*

*Abstract:* This article examines the modern assumption that Arsinoe II was born *ca.* 316 — and argues that her birth cannot be dated more precisely than between 320/19 and 312/1. More importantly, I intend to reveal the dubious rationale underlying scholarly assumptions about (royal) marriageable age and marital relations. Historians appear reluctant to accept, on the one hand, that Arsinoe may have been as young as twelve when she married Lysimachus, and, on the other hand, that Ptolemy I may well have married Berenice I around the same time as Eurydice. I will further explore the implications of post- or ante-dating Arsinoe's birth in relation to her position at the courts of Lysimachus and Ptolemy II. This note may thus serve as a general warning about the intricacies of the marital behavior of the (early-) Hellenistic dynasties.

Ever since Droysen, historians accept practically as a matter of fact that Arsinoe II, daughter of Ptolemy Soter and Berenice, was born *ca.* 316 BCE. Some authors in fact state without any qualifications that she was born *in* 316.<sup>1</sup> This article intends not so much to prove that, as an approximation, this conventional birth-date is incorrect, but rather that it simplifies the issue and is thus misleading. This date namely hides a fairly wide margin of deviation on either side, as we will see that Arsinoe's birth may have occurred four or five years before or after 316/5 BCE. Though it is impossible to determine the exact date of Arsinoe's birth, my object is instead to grasp the implications of post- or antedating her birth-date, while unearthing the underlying assumptions in modern scholarship. As such, the present note is part of a revision of the paradigm of Arsinoe II — that is to say, a rethinking of the scholarly interpretation of this early-Hellenistic queen.

The earliest date of Arsinoe's life that is known with reasonable certainty is that of her marriage to Lysimachus (361/51–281 BCE).<sup>2</sup> Plutarch

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<sup>1</sup> Burstein (1982) 198, (2004) 74 (stating inadvertently that she was born in Cos); Hölbl (2001) 24.

<sup>2</sup> Memn. *FGrHist* 434 F4.9–10; Paus. 1.10.3–4; Just. 15.4.24; *RE s.v.* 'Arsinoë' no. 26, II.1 1282; Rohde (1876) 75 n. 1; Droysen (1878) II.2 236; Mahaffy (1899) 76; Bouché-Leclercq (1903–07) I 85; Beloch (1912–27) IV.2 180; Bevan (1927) 36; Longega (1968) 16, 18; Seibert (1967) 74, 95; Lund (1992) 88; Ogden (1999) 59; Huß (2001) 200; Dmitriev (2007); also see: Bennett *s.v.* 'Arsinoe II,' n. 3.

(*Demetr.* 31) relates that some time after the Battle of Ipsus (301 BCE), Seleucus wished to form an alliance with Demetrius, because Lysimachus had already married Arsinoe and his son Agathocles was married to Lysandra, Ptolemy's daughter with Eurydice. Lysandra, however, could only have married Agathocles after the death of her first husband, Alexander (in 294 BCE), son of Cassander. Moreover, Pausanias (1.9.6) asserts that Agathocles' marriage took place after Lysimachus' campaign against the Thracian Getae, which is usually dated to *ca.* 293/2 BCE.<sup>3</sup> To Plutarch's rather imprecise reference we can add, though, that Arsinoe gave birth to three sons of Lysimachus, the oldest of whom, also called Ptolemy, was born no later than 298 BCE.<sup>4</sup> It may thus be inferred that she was married to Lysimachus some time before 298 BCE.

Historians generally assume that Arsinoe must have been at least fifteen years old when she married Lysimachus.<sup>5</sup> That, at least, seems to be the underlying rationale of Droysen's statement that she must have been born no later than 316.<sup>6</sup> However, Seibert has shown that Hellenistic princesses were married off as early as twelve years of age.<sup>7</sup> Assuming that she married Lysimachus *ca.* 300/299 BCE, Arsinoe's birth could be as late as *ca.* 312/11 BCE — *i.e.*, some four or five years later than the date normally given by modern historians. Scholars are perhaps reluctant to accept that Arsinoe gave birth to Lysimachus' child at such an early age,

<sup>3</sup> Dmitriev (2007).

<sup>4</sup> Just. 24.3.5 records the age of Arsinoe's younger sons as 16 and 13 at the time of their death (*ca.* 281/0 BCE); if the eldest was at least 18 at the time, he must have been born no later than (18 + 280 =) 298 BCE; thus her children with Lysimachus were all born two or three years apart: Ptolemy (299/8-*post* 239), Lysimachus (297/6-281/0), Philip (294/3-281/0); Rohde (1876) 75 n. 1; Heinen (1972) 9-10; Lund (1992) 197-198; Ogden (1999) 59.

<sup>5</sup> Droysen, *infra*; *RE s.v.* 'Arsinoe' no. 26, II.1 1282; Strack (1987) 193 n. 10 ("Arsinoe II ist geboren um 316, da sie um 300 mit Lysimachus verheiratet wird"); Mahaffy (1899) 76 (Arsinoe "must have been born not later than 316 B.C., for she became the wife of Lysimachus in 301-300"); Niese (1893-1903) II 100 n. 1 ("Ihre Ehe mit Lysimachos wurde etwa 300... geschlossen; sie muss also mannbar gewesen sein"); Bouché-Leclercq (1903-07) I 85 ("alors âgée de seize ans tout au plus"); Bevan (1927) 52 ("born at the latest in 315, since she was married to Lysimachus about 300"); Marcurdy (1932) 112 ("Arsinoe was married when only fifteen or sixteen to the king of Thrace, Lysimachus"); Longega (1968) 15 n. 4, 16, 18; Bengtson (1975) 113; Pomeroy (1984) 14 (Arsinoe "was wed at about the age of sixteen").

<sup>6</sup> Droysen (1877) III.2 236, "[Arsinoë] ist spätestens, wie diese Heirat lehrt, 316 geboren."

<sup>7</sup> Seibert (1967) 123; cf. Greenwalt (1988) (suggesting from the available evidence that Argead women were generally married in their late teens to early twenties); Bagnall and Frier (1994) 111-116 (concluding that in Roman Egypt most women married during their late teens); Scheidel (2007) (showing that elite women in Imperial Rome were usually married in their early teens).

especially since he was about sixty years old at the time of their wedding. Personal reluctance aside, we have to realize that in the ancient world a girl's marriageable age was usually related to her ability to bear children. Girls generally married much younger in the ancient Greek world than in modern times, and often bore several children while still teenagers.<sup>8</sup> The average age of menarche (first menstrual period) after which a girl normally reaches fertility tends to be influenced by social, environmental, psychological and nutritional factors that are not exactly understood.<sup>9</sup> Ancient medical works indicate, however, that girls were expected to have reached this age by thirteen or fourteen, recognizing individual exceptions.<sup>10</sup> Assuming that Arsinoe's first child was born no later than 298 BCE, her birth could then be dated *ca.* 312 BCE. In short, the only secure date *ante quem* for the birth of Arsinoe is somewhere around 312 BCE.<sup>11</sup>

Some historians furthermore believe that Arsinoe could not have been born much before 317 BCE.<sup>12</sup> This argument is based on the assumptions that Ptolemy I could not have married Arsinoe's mother Berenice much earlier, and that Lysimachus would not have wed an illegitimate daughter of Ptolemy.<sup>13</sup> Berenice arrived at Ptolemy's court with Eurydice, her first cousin once removed.<sup>14</sup> As Ptolemy was offered Eurydice in marriage by her father Antipater (around 321/0 BCE), it might be surmised that it would have insulted Antipater if Ptolemy maintained a liaison besides Eurydice.<sup>15</sup> Not only was Ptolemy married before, to Thais and Artacama (without any evidence that he repudiated them), but when

<sup>8</sup> Lacey (1968) 106-107, 110-112; Pomeroy (1975) 62-65, (1984) 83-123; Just (1989) 40-75; Patterson (1991) 48-61; Greenwalt (1988) 95 n. 16 (with ref.); Bagnall & Frier (1994) 111-159; Blundell (1995) 66-71, 119-124, 198-200.

<sup>9</sup> Wood (1994) 401-439, esp. fig. 9.5 (I owe this reference to Walter Scheidel); Thomas *et al.* (2001) 271-290.

<sup>10</sup> Arist., *Hist. Anim.* 7.1, 581A; Amundsen & Diers (1969) 125-132 (with ref.).

<sup>11</sup> General demographic statistics cannot tell us, though, as Dorothy Thompson points out (personal correspondence), whether Arsinoe would have been physically capable of successfully giving birth to her first son at the age of thirteen; cf. Bagnall & Frier (1994) 112 (discussing an exceptional case of a woman giving birth at thirteen).

<sup>12</sup> *RE* s.v. 'Berenike' no. 9, III.1 282; *ibid.* s.v. 'Ptolemaios' no. 18, XXIII.1 1611; Strack (1897) 181, 190; Beloch (1912-27) IV.2 180-181; Bevan (1927) 52; Macurdy (1932) 105-107; Bengtson (1975) 24, 32-33; Will (1979-82) I 88, 102; Ellis (1994) 42-43; Whitehorne (1994) 68, 114; also see: Bennett s.v. 'Berenice I,' n. 11.

<sup>13</sup> *RE* s.v. 'Berenike' no. 9, III.1 282; Strack (1897) 190; Seibert (1967) 72, 74; cf. van Oppen (2011). For the view that Berenice was still Ptolemy's *mistress* when giving birth to Arsinoe, *e.g.*, see: Beloch (1912-27) IV.2 180-181; Will (1979-82) I 88, 102; Burstein 1982, 198; Ogden (1999) 70, (2008) 356; Kosmetatou (2004) 18.

<sup>14</sup> Σ Theoc. 17.34, 61; Plut., *Pyrrh.* 4; Paus. 1.6.1, 8, 1.7.1, 1.11.5; Seibert (1967) 16-17.

<sup>15</sup> Bouché-Leclercq (1903-07) I 41.

Demetrius sent Pyrrhus to Egypt as warranty for the treaty with Ptolemy (*ca.* 298 BCE), Berenice was considered the most pre-eminent among the king's wives (γυναικῶν) according to Plutarch.<sup>16</sup> Many Macedonian kings and noblemen were polygamous, and it could hardly have offended Antipater if Ptolemy married Berenice in addition to his other wives, as she was the maternal granddaughter of Antipater's own brother Cassander. Additionally, Eurydice gave birth to as many as six of Ptolemy's children. So, unless Arsinoë was born after 315 BCE and Eurydice bore her children in rapid succession, Ptolemy had children concurrently with Eurydice and Berenice. There seems to be no reason to imagine that the king could not have fathered a child with Berenice shortly after she arrived at his court — *i.e.*, some four or five years earlier than normally assumed.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, the only certain date *post quem* for the birth of Arsinoë is *ca.* 320/19 BCE.

The date of Arsinoë's birth can then be placed no more precisely than between 320/19 and 312/1 BCE. To be true, this averages out as *ca.* 316/5 BCE, but it hides the wide margin of uncertainty, some four or five years on either side. In Arsinoë's life there are two junctures at which her age has come into play in scholarly hypotheses: (a) her position at Lysimachus' court and her involvement in the death of Agathocles, and (b) her marriage to her brother Ptolemy II. It has often been maintained that Arsinoë was the dominant woman at the court of Lysimachus (360-281 BCE) and that the old king was in her thrall.<sup>18</sup> Even Burstein's revisionist skepticism cannot refrain him from admitting that "in the 280's, however, her prominence at court is clear."<sup>19</sup> The question that concerns us here is whether Arsinoë could conceivably hold that much sway upon her arrival in Thrace when she would have been between the age of twelve and twenty-one, and Lysimachus would have been over fifty or sixty.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Plut., *Pyrrh.* 4.4: τὴν δὲ Βερενίκην ὁρῶν μέγιστον δυναμένην καὶ πρωτεύουσαν ἀρετῇ καὶ φρονήσει τῶν Πτολεμαίου γυναικῶν ("seeing that Berenice had the greatest influence and was foremost in virtue and insight among the wives of Ptolemy"); *cf.* Σ Theoc. 17.34: αὕτη ἐν ταῖς σώφροσι γυναιξίν εὐδελος ἦν ("she was manifest among the modest [*scil.*, chaste] wives"). As discussed elsewhere, van Oppen (2011) n. 5 (with lit.) γυναικες is here understood to mean "wives" rather than "(royal) women."

<sup>17</sup> Bennett *s.v.* 'Berenice I,' n. 11 (suggesting Berenice may have been Ptolemy's wife from the beginning).

<sup>18</sup> *RE s.v.* 'Arsinoë' no. 26, II.1 1282; *ibid. s.v.* 'Lysimachos' no. 1, XIV.1 28-29; Rohde (1876) 64-65; Bouché-Leclercq (1903-07) I 145: "Arsinoé avait tout pouvoir sur le vieux roi"; Longega (1968) 26-42, 54-55; Heinen (1972) 6-7; Pomeroy (1984) 14; Carney (1994); *cf.* Lund (1992) 193-196; Hazzard (2000) 81-85; Dmitriev (2007) 144-145.

<sup>19</sup> Burstein (1982) 199.

<sup>20</sup> Seibert (1967) 123 (voicing skepticism generally about the influence of young wives over elder kings); Lund (1992) 193-195 (arguing against the literary presentation of Lysimachus as a romantic and/or senile fool ensnared by a young and attractive Arsinoë).

Ancient authors, furthermore, implicate Arsinoe in the death of Lysimachus' heir Agathocles (*ca.* 320-283/2).<sup>21</sup> Pausanias offers two motives, that Agathocles rejected her amorous advances and that she feared for her children if Agathocles should succeed Lysimachus.<sup>22</sup> Macurdy allowed that Arsinoe did fall in love with Agathocles, who was much closer in age than her husband Lysimachus. Moreover, she imagines an ingenious scheme, similar to that of Stratonice (in which Seleucus married his first wife to his son Antiochus) through which Arsinoe supposedly hoped to protect her children.<sup>23</sup> While acknowledging her "daring spirit," Bevan erroneously described Arsinoe as "a young woman of twenty-one" at the time of Agathocles' death (283/2 BCE), when she would have been anywhere between 28 and 37, and later (281/0 BCE) calls her "little more than a girl... with not a little of a tigress."<sup>24</sup>

Like most historians after him, Droysen dismissed Pausanias' claim (1.7.1) that Ptolemy II (309/8-246 BCE) married his sister out of love, because (in his calculation) Arsinoe would have been nearly forty at the time and much older than her brother.<sup>25</sup> The point is not whether Ptolemy fell in love with a woman of that age, however unlikely that may seem to some.<sup>26</sup> Few

<sup>21</sup> Memn. *FGrHist* 434 F5.6; Strabo 13.4.1-2; Trog., *Procl.* 17; Just. 17.1.1-9; *RE s.v.* 'Agathokles' no. 18, I.1 757. For the scholarly discussion about these events, see: Longega (1968) 44-54; Heinen (1972) 6-17; Bengtson (1975) 113-114; Lund (1992) 187-189, 195-198; Carney (1994); Ogden (1999) 59-62; Hazzard (2000) 82-84; Huß (2001) 256; Dmitriev (2007).

<sup>22</sup> Paus. 1.10.3-4.

<sup>23</sup> Macurdy (1932) 113; Ogden (1999) 61 (accepting Macurdy's suggestion as a possibility).

<sup>24</sup> Bevan (1927) 54 ("one of those Macedonian princesses of masterful and daring spirit, shrinking from no violent deed which might further their purposes... caused Agathocles to be put to death on a false charge, soon after Ptolemy Keraunos arrived in Macedonia"), 57.

<sup>25</sup> Droysen (III 267): "[Arsinoë] war bedeutend älter als [Philadelphos], nahe an vierzig Jahre, da sie nach Ägypten zurückkam." Nonetheless, Mahaffy (1895: 141) allowed for "personal attraction" as "a more obvious and better reason" for the sibling wedding. Ancient sources insist the king married his sister out of love: *P. Haun.* I 6 F3.2-3;  $\Sigma$  Theoc. 17.128; Plut., *Lib. educ.* 14 (= *Mor.* 11A); *id.*, *Quaest. conviv.* 3.9.2 (= *Mor.* 763E-F); Paus. 9.3.1; Athen. 14.621A; Herod. 1.3.3. Also, see: *RE s.v.* 'Arsinoe' no. 26, II.1 1283 ("eine glückliche Ehe konnte aus diesem unnatürlichen Bunde nicht hervorgehen"); Strack (1897) 86-87 ("Arsinoe kam mit ungefähr 44 [*sic*] Jahren nach Aegypten zurück"); Niese (1893-1903) II 100; Breccia (1903) 15; Bouché-Leclercq (1903-07) I 160-161 n. 4; Kornemann (1923) 20; Bevan (1927) 60-61; Macurdy (1932) 106, 117, 131; Seibert (1967) 82-83; Longega (1968) 73; Bengtson (1975) 117 ("schon der ungewöhnliche Altersunterschied zeigt jedermann, daß von einer Neigungsehe nicht die Rede sein kann"); Hopkins (1980) 311-312; Carney (1987) 424 (with n. 11); Hazzard (2000) 85 ("By 279, Arsinoe was thirty-six years old while Ptolemy II was twenty-eight"); Huß (2001) 265, 305-312 (with n. 29).

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Carney (1987) 425 (suggesting that, if Ptolemy was such a womanizer and sensualist as is often assumed, he may "have been titillated" marrying his sister).



kings ever married solely for love's sake, but rather for the sake of political and diplomatic advantages.<sup>27</sup> While he assumed Arsinoe overpowered old Lysimachus with her youth, Bouché-Leclercq implies that she was now able to subject her brother to her whims, because she was "eight years older than him."<sup>28</sup> Pomeroy has advanced this argument with greater psychological depth, reasoning that "as adults, older siblings often maintain their authority over younger ones."<sup>29</sup>

There is little point in refuting each of these claims. They stand or fall on the basis of the conjecture that Arsinoe was born *ca.* 316 BCE — and they would be strengthened or weakened significantly if she was born several years earlier or later. There are, however, a few more considerations to take into account about Arsinoe's date of birth. The earlier she was born, the more likely it would be that she was born in Memphis, rather than Alexandria.<sup>30</sup> The later we place her birth, the more regular would be the intervals between the children that Berenice bore Ptolemy I — say, Arsinoe in 313/2, Philotera in 311/0, and Ptolemy II in 309/8 BCE. Conversely, the farther apart she was born from her brother Ptolemy II, the more likely it would be that they were not raised together. If so, the so-called Westermarck effect (in which sexual attraction is desensitized between adults who were reared together as infants) can be discounted.<sup>31</sup> Finally, Arsinoe would have been anywhere between and 41 and 52 years of age at the time of her death (in 270 or 268 BCE).<sup>32</sup>

This note has aimed to show that assumptions of earlier historians have a tendency to be repeated as facts by later generations. There seems to be no reason not to believe Berenice was married to Ptolemy by the time Arsinoe was born. As for Arsinoe, scholars need to remain cautious when dating her birth and subsequently drawing conclusions from their assumptions. This warning, actually, applies to Ptolemaic chronology in

<sup>27</sup> Ager (2005) 15: "royal marriage is not — and never has been — primarily sexual," but rather driven by pragmatic motives; so, too: Carney (1987) 426.

<sup>28</sup> Bouché-Leclercq (1903-07) I 160-162; cf. Huß (2001) 307 (similarly hinting at the age difference between Arsinoe II, Ptolemy II and Arsinoe I).

<sup>29</sup> Pomeroy (1984) 17-18; cf. Carney (1987) 425 n. 13.

<sup>30</sup> Gambetti (2009) 26 proposes on the basis of the internal chronology of the Satrap stele that the transfer of the Egyptian capital from Memphis to Alexandria took place around 314 BCE. (I am grateful to Gambetti for sharing her thoughts on the issue.)

<sup>31</sup> Westermarck (1922) 293; Ager (2005) 20-22; Scheidel (2005) 93-108; also, see: Wolf (1968), (1995).

<sup>32</sup> For which, now see: van Oppen 2010.

general, an area in which much remains uncertain — and much work needs to be done.

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## THE KRONION FAMILY'S LOANS: AN EGYPTIAN PEASANT FAMILY DECLINING UNDER ROMAN RULE?\*

*Abstract:* This article examines the financial history of the Kronion family on the basis of the evidence from their archive (*P. Kron.*). Although several previous studies have treated the Kronion family as an example of Egyptian peasants gradually declining under Roman rule, a close examination of the evidence suggests that their economic decline and financial difficulties happened not as slow process but as the result of a huge debt which was incurred at one particular point and then discredited the family's financial reputation.

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The archive of the Kronion family was discovered at the '*cantina dei papyri*', a deposit of Greek papyri in the ruins of Tebtynis in the Fayum, along with other papyri dated to the second century AD,<sup>1</sup> and was published as *P. Kron.* by D. Foraboschi in 1971. It consists of about seventy documents, and reveals the life of this family for three generations in the first half of the second century in Tebtynis.<sup>2</sup> The protagonists of the family are Kronion senior (born in c. AD 61; described as senior in this article in order to distinguish him from his homonymous son), and four

\* I thank Dr Jane Rowlandson and the anonymous readers for valuable comments on earlier versions of this paper and suggestions for improving my English. This paper originates from a section of my doctoral dissertation, *Family, Economy and Society in Second-Century AD Tebtunis: A Rural Community in Roman Egypt*, London 2007, and a Japanese version has been published as 'A Family in Decline' in: Mariko Sakurai & Akiko Moroo (eds.), *Dynamism of the Ancient Mediterranean World*, Tokyo 2010. The article was completed during my Japan Society for the Promotion of Science Postdoctoral Fellowship for Research Abroad at King's College London.

<sup>1</sup> On the '*cantina dei papyri*' and its papyri, see Gallazzi (1990) and (2003) 164-166.

<sup>2</sup> On the Kronion archive, see <http://www.trismegistos.org/arch/detail.php?tm=125>, s.v. 'Kronion' (accessed 17 December 2011). The Trismegistos Papyrus Archive lists seventy-five texts, but the number of texts given in the description is seventy-three, two of which are regarded as uncertainly belonging to the archive. Gallazzi & Sijpesteijn (1988) 360 and 362 doubt the attribution of *P. Kron.* 28 and 33 to the archive. In my opinion, *P. Kron.* 28 is to be excluded from the archive, while *P. Kron.* 33 is part of the archive.

The attribution of *P. Kron.* 24, a very fragmentary lease contract, is uncertain, and I do not consider it in this article. On a photograph of the papyrus, the beginning of line 6 reads ' ] Πακηβ . [ .'. This Pakebkis must be either a *hypographeus* or a contracting party. I thank Prof. D. Foraboschi for providing the photograph and Dr M. Malouta for help in examining the papyrus.

of his children: Kronion junior, Taorsenouphis, Harphaesis, and Tephorsais (born between c. 85 and c. 105). Another son, Harmiysis, was not involved in the family enterprise, though included in his father's will. The family tree is shown in Fig. 1.

The family were native inhabitants of Tebtynis, having names common in the village. They were illiterate in Greek and had the legal status of Egyptian villagers. The two pairs of children, Kronion junior and Taorsenouphis, and Harphaesis and Tephorsais married one another.<sup>3</sup> Kronion senior and one of his sons, Harphaesis, held the minor priestly post of shrine carrier, *pastophoros*, in the village temple, and also served as the village granary guards, *thesaurophylakes*.<sup>4</sup> The family kept not only documents made on special occasions such as a will or a divorce contract,<sup>5</sup> but also a selection of routine documents issued by the authorities such as tax receipts or certificates of compulsory dyke work.<sup>6</sup> However, documents concerning economic activities, mainly leases and loans, occupy the largest proportion of the archive. Besides one receipt for the rent of a house which the family leased,<sup>7</sup> twenty-five documents concern land leases, in five of which the family are the lessors and in twenty the lessees.<sup>8</sup> While the family owned about twenty arouras of land,<sup>9</sup> they also leased land from some upper class landlords. Fifteen documents are

<sup>3</sup> On brother-sister marriage in Roman Egypt, see most recently Rowlandson & Takahashi (2009). The Kronion family is the only family for whom more than one case of brother-sister marriage in one generation is attested.

<sup>4</sup> *P. Kron.* 1, 4, and 5 for the *pastophoroi*; *P. Kron.* 3 and 6 for the *thesaurophylakes*. On the *pastophoroi*, Evans (1961) 192-195. On the *thesaurophylakes*, see n. 40 below.

<sup>5</sup> *P. Kron.* 50: will of Kronion senior; *P. Kron.* 51 and 52: divorce contract of Kronion junior and Taorsenouphis; *P. Kron.* 2: petition to the *strategos* about a lost donkey.

<sup>6</sup> Tax receipts: *P. Kron.* 30, 31, 54, and 55. It is not certain whether the public land in *P. Kron.* 30 and 31 was held by or subleased to the family. Certificates of dyke work: *P. Kron.* 56-58, 60-69.

<sup>7</sup> *P. Kron.* 53.

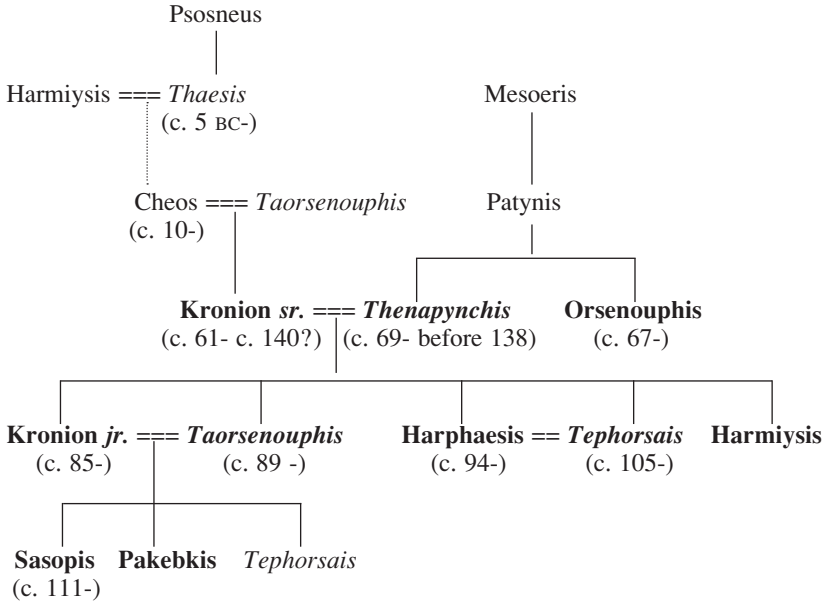
<sup>8</sup> The five documents about leasing or subleasing out the land they held are *P. Kron.* 10, 19, 19a, 26, and 38. Of twenty documents where the family were lessees, fourteen are lease contracts, cancellations of contract, and receipts of rent: *P. Kron.* 25, 27, 29, 33, 34, 35, 39, 41, 42 (its duplicate is *P. Mil. Vogl.* III 181), 45 (its duplicate is *P. Mil. Vogl.* II 88), 46, and *P. Mil. Vogl.* VI 286. The remaining six are tax receipts for leased land: *P. Kron.* 32, 37, 40, 43, 44, and *SB XIV* 11864. Family members and their landlord named Asklepiades also appear in a list of land tax, *P. Kron.* 47, but the nature of the document is not clear.

<sup>9</sup> The family's private land, owned by Taorsenouphis and Tephorsais, is mentioned four times. If each reference mentions a different land plot, they owned over twenty-five arouras, while its size would be less than twenty arouras if there was overlap.

Taorsenouphis: (1) nine arouras near Tebtynis: *P. Kron.* 10 ll. 12-16 (AD 116); (2) three and a quarter arouras of private land (*ge idiotike*) with three-quarters aroura of *epibole* near Tebtynis: *P. Kron.* 19 ll. 14-16 (AD 145) and 19a ll. 8-10.

loans in cash and crops, in which the family was always the indebted party.<sup>10</sup>

Fig. 1. The family tree of the Kronion family



The numerous loans suggest that the family's economic condition was precarious, and form the basis for scholarly assessments of the family as typical impoverished peasants. In the introduction to *P. Kron.*, Foraboschi states "the family had only few reserves of their scarce dispensable cash, and had to resort to credit in order to provide even the small costs of cultivation of the land they owned and leased", and then, "the loan became an endemic condition and inevitable for the Kronion family as well as for, probably, all the members of their social class".<sup>11</sup> Lewis sees

Tephorsais: (3) four arouras of *kleros* ἐν τῇ λεγομένῃ Στασικράτους διαίτη near Tebtynis: *P. Kron.* 17 ll. 20-22 (AD 140); (4) nine arouras of *kleros*, with seven and a half arouras of village *epibole* near Tebtynis: *P. Kron.* 20 ll. 16-17 (AD 146).

Foraboschi (*P. Kron.* p. xxv) mistakenly identifies the nine arouras of Tephorsais' land in *P. Kron.* 20 with the land of Taorsenouphis in *P. Kron.* 10. Thus he calculates seventeen arouras in total; cf. Rowlandson (1999) 153 n. 66.

<sup>10</sup> *P. Kron.* 7 (bis), 8 (cf. 11), 9, 12 (cf. 10), 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20 (bis), 21, 22, and 23.

<sup>11</sup> *P. Kron.* p. xxix, xxxvii.



the Kronion family as an example of Egyptian peasants under Roman rule. Referring to the family's loans, he comments "for the taxes and certain other obligations that were payable in specie, Kronion and his likes were chronically short of cash and constantly going into short-term debt".<sup>12</sup> In his study of land management in Roman Egypt, Kehoe also states that "clearly the Kronion family regularly required credit in order to survive the agricultural year. Without loans of grain and cash, the family would have on occasion not been able to plant its crops while at the same time meeting its subsistence needs and paying its rent, taxes and other financial obligations".<sup>13</sup> Scholars also observe that their economic situation worsened as time passed. In his study of loans in cash in Roman Egypt, Tenger states that "the archive documents the slow but continual decline of the family".<sup>14</sup> In the source book edited by Rowlandson, the family is described thus: "chronic debt ever threatened, and the family found it increasingly difficult to repay loans".<sup>15</sup>

These studies thus tend to regard the Kronion family as representative of peasants in Roman Egypt and to consider that their finances underwent a gradual decline. Although loans to the family are attested throughout the period covered by the evidence, and loans were certainly embedded into their and their contemporaries' lives, however, a close examination of the evidence reveals that the economic situation of the family worsened at one particular point. The event which caused their difficulty involved Kronion junior's being an estate manager of a rich landowner and cannot have been experienced by many peasants in Roman Egypt. Therefore the case of the Kronion family should not be generalised as a typical case of Egyptian peasants suffering under Roman rule.

## 2. LOANS OF THE KRONION FAMILY

Table 1 summarises the Kronion family's sixteen loans and three prodomatic leases in chronological order, although not all can be exactly dated.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Lewis (1983) 71.

<sup>13</sup> Kehoe (1992) 153.

<sup>14</sup> Tenger (1993) 201-202.

<sup>15</sup> Rowlandson (1998) 126-127.

<sup>16</sup> *P. Kron.* 23 is dated after Kronion senior's death or retirement around AD 140, because Harphaesis became Taorsenouphis' guardian in place of Kronion senior who used to be her guardian after her divorce from Kronion junior in AD 138.

*P. Kron.* 22 cannot be dated. The identity of Taotion, the creditor of *P. Kron.* 22, with the wife of Lurios alias Apollonios is not as certain as Foraboschi and Kehoe think; cf. *P. Kron.* p. xxxi, Kehoe (1992) 154-155. Apart from Lurios alias Apollonios' wife, who is daugh-

Prodomatic leases, leases with advance payment of the rent, are included here because they were probably *de facto* loans.<sup>17</sup> The rent of a prodomatic lease may in fact represent a concealed debt which the lessor owed to the lessee, the lessee obtaining use of the debtor's land in return for cancellation of the debt and interest.<sup>18</sup>

Table 1: Loans and prodomatic leases of the Kronion family

<i>P.Kron.</i>	Date	Type of Document	Debtors (the Kronion family)	Creditors	Object of Loan
7	106 Dec. 30	Bank transfer statement	Kronion sr.	Sabinus	100 dr.
7	Before 106 Dec. 30	Memorandum	Kronion sr.	Sabinus	100 dr.
8	109 Dec. 7	Loan contract	Kronion sr., <b>Thenapynchis</b> , Kronion jr., <b>Taorsenouphis</b>	Herakleides (son of Helene)	236 dr.
9	111 Nov. 22	Loan contract	Kronion sr., Orsenouphis	Didymos	Wheat: 20 art. Barley: 20 art.
10	116 Jul. 19	Prodomatic lease contract	Kronion sr.	<b>Helene</b>	Rent for 11.75 ar. for one year
10	Before 116 Jul. 19	Memorandum	Kronion sr.	<b>Helene</b>	Wheat: 20 art.
21	After 117 Aug. 7	Receipt for repayment	Kronion sr., others	<b>Charition</b>	84 dr. (Kronion's responsibility; a tenth of the total sum)
11	121 May 26-Jun. 24	Receipt for repayment; cf. <i>P.Kron.</i> 8			

ter of Ptolemaios, there are two homonymous persons in second-century AD Tebtynis: a daughter of Horion in a list of the *naubion* tax payers (*SB* VI 9370 col. iv l. 15: AD c. 170) and a daughter of Herakleides in an agreement over the liabilities of a deposit (*P. Tebt.* II 392: AD 134/5).

<sup>17</sup> *P. Kron.* 10, 19, and 19a.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Hennig (1967) 36-41.

12	135 Aug. 21	Receipt for repayment; cf. <i>P.Kron.</i> 10		<b>Aphrodisia/ Ptolemais</b> (daughter- in-law of Helene)	
15	135/6 (or 116/7)	Loan contract	Harphaesis	Mysthes	Wheat: unknown amount
13	137 May 26-Jun. 24 (?)	Receipt for repayment	Kronion jr., Harphaesis	Orsenouphis	Wheat: 50 art.
14	137/8	Receipt for repayment	Kronion sr.	[... ]/Lurius	?
16	138 Oct. 24	Credit contract	Kronion jr.	<b>Diogenis</b>	600 dr. to Diogenis' estate
17	140 Sept. 25	Loan contract	<b>Taorsenouphis, Tephorsais</b>	<b>Didyme</b>	372 dr.
18	Before 144 Jan. 14	Registration for mortgaged land in <i>P.Kron.</i> 17			
19	145 Apr. 7	Prodomatic lease contract	<b>Taorsenouphis</b>	<b>Ammonilla</b>	Rent for 4 ar. for 8 years
19a	145/6	Prodomatic lease contract	<b>Taorsenouphis</b>	<b>Ammonilla</b>	Rent for 4 ar. for 9 years
20	146 Oct. 28-Nov. 26	Loan contract	<b>Tephorsais</b>	<b>Thaesis</b>	200 dr.
20	146 Sept. 3	Memorandum	<b>Tephorsais</b>	<b>Thaesis</b>	300 dr.
46	153 Nov. 6	Loan clause in land lease contract	Harphaesis	Anoubion	96 dr.
23	After Kronion sr.'s death (c.140)	Receipt for repayment	<b>Taorsenouphis, Tephorsais</b>	?	26[.] dr.
Undated case					
22		Loan contract	<b>Tephorsais</b>	<b>Taotion</b>	126 dr.

In the columns of debtors and creditors, women are in bold

In all sixteen cases, the members of the Kronion family are the debtors. In most cases a single document corresponds to a single loan.<sup>19</sup> However, this is not always true. Three pairs of separate documents attest one case each: a contract and a receipt, a memorandum of a land lease contract and a receipt, and another contract and a registration of mortgaged land.<sup>20</sup> Conversely, two documents deal with two loans each: a bank transfer statement (*diagraphē*), which apparently stands for a loan contract, and a memorandum in another loan contract each make clear that the present loan is different from an earlier loan contracted between the same parties.<sup>21</sup> The object of the loans is mainly cash (in ten cases), but wheat or barley (four cases) and credit (one case) are also treated. In one instance the object is unknown.

A credit contract made in AD 138, by which Kronion junior professes his debt of 600 drachmas to a female landowner named Diogenis, stands out among the loans and prodromatic leases.<sup>22</sup> That credit agreement (by far the largest of the family's known debts) seems to be a watershed for the loan activities of the Kronion family. The loans before AD 138 and those after AD 138 differ in three respects, which are most evident from the loans in cash: (1) the amounts increase in size; (2) provisions in case of default become stronger, involving mortgages of land and granting usufruct of the land to creditors; (3) the female members of the family become debtors, as is clearly evident from Table 1, which marks female debtors and creditors in bold. Together, these features strongly suggest that the family finances worsened. The rest of this section discusses each of the three characteristics in detail, comparing the loans before and after AD 138. Then, the events of AD 138, including the credit loan between Kronion junior and Diogenis, are examined to see why the loan activities of the family changed in these ways.

Firstly, the increase in the size of loans. The four loans in cash before AD 138 are respectively for 84, 100 twice, and 236 drachmas, making an average of 130 drachmas. But the two loans of 100 drachmas were contracted between the same parties and the second was borrowed while the other was still outstanding. If we take these two loans as a single loan, the average amount of the three becomes 173.33 drachmas. After AD 138, the amount of cash the Kronion family borrowed became larger. Apart

<sup>19</sup> *P. Kron.* 9, 13, 14, 15, 16, 21, 22, 23 and 46. *P. Kron.* 46 is a land lease contract with a clause about a loan between the lessor and lessee. *P. Kron.* 14 is the beginning of a contract. I follow the editor's view that it is a receipt for a loan.

<sup>20</sup> *P. Kron.* 8, 11; 10, 12; 17, and 18.

<sup>21</sup> *P. Kron.* 7 and 20.

<sup>22</sup> *P. Kron.* 16. The original reading of 1,800 drachmas, which would be an even more impressive amount of cash, is emended by Sijpesteijn and Worp: *BL* VII 73.

from the small loan of 96 drachmas which Harphaesis borrowed from his landlord, half of which was to be used for the purchase of seed, the other four loans in cash are respectively for 200, about 260, 300, and 372 drachmas. The average amount of the five loans after AD 138 is 245.6 drachmas, but again the situation is more complicated than this simple calculation. In AD 146, Tephorsais borrowed 200 drachmas from Thaesis who had already given Tephorsais a deposit (*paratheke*) of another 300 drachmas a few months earlier (*P. Kron.* 20). This deposit and loan are treated together when the parties stipulate their mortgage, and can be seen as a single loan of 500 drachmas. In that case, the average amount of the four cases is 307 drachmas. However we count the amount of the loans, the family seems to have needed a large amount of cash after AD 138.

Secondly, the appearance of defaults in repayment and mortgages of land. There is no case of default before AD 138, although the family took a long time to repay in a few cases.<sup>23</sup> Default starts to appear after AD 138, although the family succeeded in repaying a loan in one case (*P. Kron.* 23). While the creditor's general right to execution from the debtor's property in case of default is a normal feature of Greek loan contracts, the loan agreements of the Kronion family after AD 138 mostly specify particular plots of land as mortgage. When Taorsenouphis and Tephorsais borrow 372 drachmas from Didyme (*P. Kron.* 17), the contract stipulates that two arouras of Tephorsais' private land should be handed to Didyme in case of default. The sisters indeed failed to return the money within the term of repayment, and Tephorsais registered her land as under usufruct of the creditor in lieu of the interest a few years later (*P. Kron.* 18). In the above-mentioned pair of loan and deposit documents (*P. Kron.* 20), the creditor was given a choice of taking usufruct of two and a half arouras of private land with its attached public land (*epibole*) owned by Tephorsais instead of interest, although we do not know whether the debtor actually took the land.

The connection of loans with land is also found in two prodromatic leases after AD 138 (*P. Kron.* 19 and 19a).<sup>24</sup> In AD 145, Taorsenouphis leased out her land to Ammonilla, receiving rent for eight years in advance. In the first year of the lease, the same parties renewed the contract and extended the term for a further nine years, Taorsenouphis again

<sup>23</sup> It took more than ten years to repay the loan of 236 drachmas (*P. Kron.* 8 and 11), and almost twenty years to repay another loan of twenty artabas of wheat (*P. Kron.* 10 and 12).

<sup>24</sup> Although *P. Kron.* 19 does not clearly state that it is a prodromatic lease contract, *P. Kron.* 19a being "another prodromatic lease" (ll. 5-6) indicates that the lease in *P. Kron.* 19 was also prodromatic.

receiving the rent in advance. Apparently the family desperately needed cash. Or perhaps Ammonilla had already lent money to Taorsenouphis and now took land instead of claiming the money back, using the form of a land lease contract.<sup>25</sup> Whichever was the case, the plot passed out of control of the family for seventeen years, and the crop to be cultivated was "every year whatever Ammonilla chooses" (*P. Kron.* 19 ll. 20-21, 19a l. 11). While there is also a prodomatic lease made by the Kronion family before AD 138 (*P. Kron.* 10, cf. 12), its implication is different from those made by Taorsenouphis. In AD 116, Kronion senior leased out eleven and three quarters arouras, including five and a half arouras of Taorsenouphis' land, to Helene, whose family belonged to the privileged group of *katoikoi* in the Arsinoite nome.<sup>26</sup> The term of the lease is only one year and the contract stipulates that grass fodder is to be cultivated and that Kronion himself will perform the agricultural work. While Kronion must have found the rent in advance attractive, or the rent possibly functioned as repayment or reduction of the loan of 236 drachmas which Helene's son had lent to the family in AD 109 and which had not yet been repaid (cf. *P. Kron.* 8 and 11), this lease was probably also beneficial to Helene in terms of agricultural management. Since the price of fodder crops was volatile, it was important for sheep owners to have a secure supply.<sup>27</sup> Although there is no explicit evidence for any landed property near Tebtynis or a flock of sheep belonging to the family of Helene, parallel cases in contemporary Tebtynis suggest that prodomatic

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Kehoe (1992) 154.

<sup>26</sup> Canducci (1991) 149: no. 235 bis. On her family, see *P. Kron.* p. xxxi-xxxii, Keenan (1971), (1979). Keenan (1971), however, misses *P. Kron.* 10, which was then available as *P. Mil. Vogl.* 80, in his consideration and Helene in his family tree.

Although it is incidental to the present argument, the family tree provided by Canducci ((1991) 211, 'Stemma 13') needs to be used with caution, especially concerning *P. Fam. Tebt.* 9. The name of the wife of Didymos presbyteros is not certain as her name is supplemented as [Thae]sis (l.20), and her ancestors are mistakenly taken from those of a different person named Thaeis (*P. Fam. Tebt.* 9 ll. 7-8). The supposed identification of Apia alias Herakleia (*P. Fam. Tebt.* 9) with Apia (*P. Fam. Tebt.* 20 l. 10; cf. *P. Fam. Tebt.* p. 5 no. 1) is doubtful. If Apia alias Herakleia, who is about thirty-eight years old in AD 107 (*P. Fam. Tebt.* 9 ll. 4-5), is identical with Apia, she would have a granddaughter only twenty four years younger, Herakleia who is about thirty-nine years old in AD 132 (*P. Fam. Tebt.* 27 l. 5). While the latter's age is supplemented, their age gap is too small to believe their grandmother-granddaughter relationship.

<sup>27</sup> On the volatility of fodder prices, see Rowlandson (1996) 21-22, (1999) 150-151. The Patron family, who had numerous plots of land near Tebtynis and whose agricultural activities are known from another archive found at the '*cantina dei papiri*', certainly tried to gain a secure supply of fodder for sheep; cf. Kehoe (1992) 80.

leases of land for pasture or fodder crops were normally related to sheep farming.<sup>28</sup> This earlier lease therefore does not imply the family's long-term indebtedness as the later ones do. In sum, when the Kronion family borrowed cash after AD 138, they seem to have been forced to offer a mortgage as security for their debt. Now the family risked losing their land and, in fact, did lose their land either temporarily or permanently. No such risk arose from the loans in the earlier period.

The third characteristic is the change from male to female debtors. Before AD 138, it is the male members who were actively committed in the loans. Only in a single instance, Thenapynchis and Taorsenouphis, wife and daughter of Kronion senior, were co-debtors with their husbands (*P. Kron.* 8 and 11). Kronion senior is particularly prominent among the male family members, being committed in seven loans both of cash and in kind, and apparently he sometimes took co-debtors from outside his immediate family circle.<sup>29</sup> Even the role of his sons was limited, each son appearing in only two loans. Kronion junior took on the above-mentioned loan in cash with his parents and wife/sister (*P. Kron.* 8 and 11) and another loan of wheat with his brother Harphaesis (*P. Kron.* 13). Harphaesis also independently borrowed probably wheat independently (*P. Kron.* 15).<sup>30</sup> The sons never appear as independent debtors in cash. They seem either to have had no need, or to have lacked the independent authority, to undertake loans in cash or permission to take loans in cash.

The role of female members becomes conspicuous after AD 138. Apart from Harphaesis' loan in cash from his landlord recorded in a land lease contract (*P. Kron.* 46), the debtors in the other loans after AD 138 are always the two daughters of Kronion senior, Taorsenouphis and Tephorsais. The reason for this is clearly not the lack of male family members, because Kronion senior functioned as his daughters' guardian

<sup>28</sup> A member of the wealthy Patron family leased land for pasture (*ktamia* and *nomai*) from a certain Chairas apparently by a prodomatic lease (*P. Mil. Vogl.* VI 268: AD 114). A certain Didymos, who was not a member of the Patron family, also leased pasture land near Tebtynis from the *presbyteroi* and public farmers for eight years from AD 133, again paying the rent in advance (*P. Mil. Vogl.* II 105). In the early Roman Fayum, one-year prodomatic leases often related to fodder cultivation; cf. Hennig (1967) 201-216, 223-252.

<sup>29</sup> *P. Kron.* 21, a receipt for a repayment by Kronion senior, shows that he shared a tenth of the total sum with other borrowers. Although we know neither his co-debtors nor the exact purpose of the loan, this loan seems to be for something wider than personal or familial needs. In *P. Kron.* 9, Kronion senior took a loan of wheat and barley with a co-debtor named Orsenouphis, possibly his brother-in-law.

<sup>30</sup> The object of loan is probably wheat, although only the doubtful *pi* of the word  $\pi\iota\rho\omicron\upsilon$  in line 10 is legible.



in the loan contract of AD 140 (*P. Kron.* 17) and Harphaesis took over this role for later contracts. Furthermore, Harphaesis and Sasopis, a son of Kronion junior, leased land (*P. Kron.* 41: AD 140). Taorsenouphis and Tephorsais' involvement in loans is attributable to the above-mentioned mortgages. When a landed mortgage was required for taking a loan, it was Taorsenouphis and Tephorsais who had to be the debtors, because the sisters were, as far as we know, the only landowners in the family.<sup>31</sup>

These three characteristics strongly suggest that the loans taken by the family were of a different kind and that their financial situation had worsened after AD 138. The family needed large amounts of cash, and they were required to put up land as security in order to borrow cash. This is due to the events of AD 138, which will be examined in the next section.

### 3. THE YEAR OF CHANGE, AD 138

As mentioned above, in AD 138, Kronion junior drew up an acknowledgement of his debt of 600 drachmas to Diogenis (*P. Kron.* 16). This huge debt stands out among the loans of the family, and is a turning point in both their loan activities and their economic situation. Kronion junior had served as Diogenis' estate manager from an unknown date until AD 136/7,<sup>32</sup> and had incurred an unknown amount of debt to her estate "at the beginning of the period of his management" (*P. Kron.* 16 ll. 13-15). She seems to have excused him for years, expecting him to pay

<sup>31</sup> It is enigmatic how they became the only landowners in the family. They did not inherit from Kronion senior; cf. *P. Kron.* 50. If they inherited from their mother Thenapynchis, their brothers would surely have acquired some landed property too. For Taorsenouphis, a clue suggesting that she may have purchased the land herself is a clause in her divorce contract which states that "Kronion is to claim nothing against Taorsenouphis in regard to any property she has bought, in consideration of the fact that she has paid its price from her own funds" (*P. Kron.* 52 ll. 26-28; English translation taken from Rowlandson (1998) 130). But it is still uncertain whether her purchased property contained any land.

The family had hereditary landed property in the early first century. As sale documents from the graphieon archive reveal (*P. Kron.* 48: AD 35), Cheos, the father of Kronion senior, sold (with his mother's consent) three arouras of sacred land inherited from his father. This sale need not be a sign of financial crisis, because motives for sale of land vary and are difficult to determine in an isolated case; cf. Rowlandson (1981).

<sup>32</sup> Diogenis belonged to a wealthy family whose property was situated near Tebtynis; her archive is also found in the '*cantina dei papiri*'. She and her family appear in *P. Kron.* 16, 35, 39, *P. Mil. Vogl.* II 76-79, III 196, IV 220, VI 297-298, and *P. Tebt.* II 394. On her archive, see <http://www.trismegistos.org/arch/detail.php?tm=276>, s.v. 'Diogenis' (accessed 17 December 2011).

the debt off during his service to her, but he had failed to repay and maybe the debt even increased if it bore interest. Eventually Kronion and Diogenis drew up the above-mentioned contract on October 24th, AD 138, more than one year after he left his management position. The sum owed by Kronion then was 600 drachmas at the customary interest rate of one per cent per month. Unless Kronion repaid the debt by next Pachon (April/May AD 139), it was agreed that he would become a dependent labourer for Diogenis: he would do any kind of labour, while being provided with food and clothing and having his poll tax paid. Diogenis was also given the second option to seize Kronion's property in case of default.

This 600 drachmas is the largest known debt the family owed, and seems to have been too large for the family to deal with. Being afraid of what Diogenis might exact, the family tried to avert possible disaster by making clear that responsibility for the debt lay with Kronion junior alone, not the whole family. Even before the above-mentioned contract of October 24th provided the family with a written settlement of the situation, the family manoeuvred to expel Kronion junior in order to secure the rest of the family from Diogenis. On June 13th, four months before the contract was written down, Kronion senior, who was now about seventy-five years old, made a will (*P. Kron.* 50), in which he virtually disinherited his homonymous son, leaving him "only forty drachmas because of the fact that he has been wronged by him in many matters over the course of his lifetime" (*P. Kron.* 50 ll. 7-8).<sup>33</sup> The debt to Diogenis must certainly have counted as one of the son's misbehaviours. Then, on August 30th, two months before the credit contract, Kronion junior ended his marriage to Taorsenouphis by a divorce contract (*P. Kron.* 52, cf. 51). According to the contract, Kronion junior had spent the dowry of jewellery brought by Taorsenouphis "for his own use" (*P. Kron.* 52 l. 19); no doubt he used it to reduce his debt rather than for personal luxury.

The disinheritance and divorce of Kronion junior suggest his expulsion from the family. His expulsion was not only emotionally motivated but also a strategic solution to the danger posed to the family as a whole by his huge debt to Diogenis.<sup>34</sup> By this method the family property was protected from Diogenis' intervention. In fact, Kronion junior remained

<sup>33</sup> The translation is taken from Rowlandson (1998) 128.

<sup>34</sup> The relationship between the debt of Kronion junior on the one hand and the disinheritance and divorce on the other hand was mentioned by Foraboschi (introduction to *P. Kron.* 16 and 52) and Yiftach-Firanko (2003) 100-102.

in contact with the family even after these events. As he appears with his brother and son working on leased land in AD 140, just one year after the deadline for the repayment (*P. Kron.* 40),<sup>35</sup> he was not working entirely under Diogenis' control, nor was he completely ostracised by his family. Considering the amount of the debt and the time the family took to repay other loans, however, it is also doubtful that Kronion junior or the family had already repaid in full by managing their family budget. There are three possible scenarios to explain what happened next, although the surviving evidence does not strongly support any of them. The first scenario is that Diogenis seized the property of Kronion himself or the family. However, he may well not have possessed enough property to satisfy Diogenis. His sisters certainly retained some of their landed property, which is later attested as mortgaged. Even if Diogenis seized their landed property, therefore, she took only part of it. In the second scenario, Diogenis was still waiting for the repayment. In other cases too the family took time to repay their loans.<sup>36</sup> Diogenis may have been equally patient with her debtor, and not enforced the contract strictly. The third scenario, which could coincide with the second, is that Kronion or other family members borrowed cash from a third party to clear the debt to Diogenis. While taking another loan from someone else would not have much improved their financial situation, it would save Kronion junior from becoming Diogenis' servant. A possible creditor would be Ammonilla, who later leased land from Taorsenouphis for seventeen years from AD 145 by two prodromatic lease contracts. As mentioned above, these lease contracts between Taorsenouphis and Ammonilla could be a repayment of a loan Taorsenouphis took from Ammonilla. The rent of four arouras of land for seventeen years was clearly a substantial amount.<sup>37</sup> Such a

<sup>35</sup> Ten years later he again appears as the lessee of the same land, though the owner has changed: *P. Kron.* 45 (AD 150/1).

<sup>36</sup> As the creditors of the Kronion family did not take action immediately after the deadline, it looks as if the creditors were generally not keen to seize land or property in the case of default and they preferred to wait for repayment; cf. *P. Kron.* 11, 12, and 18.

<sup>37</sup> Only a rule-of-thumb calculation can be used to estimate the possible total value of the rent. According to private land lease contracts from second-century Tebtynis, leased land was commonly divided into two parts, half to be sown with wheat and the other half with a fodder crop for grazing or storing. While a small rent in cash or no rent at all was applied to the fodder, rent in kind was applied to the wheat. The average wheat rent in the early second-century Fayum is 8.925 artabas per aroura, according to Drexhage (1991) 160-161, whose data for this period is mainly taken from Tebtynis.

If we assume that only two of the four arouras were cultivated with wheat each year and subject to rent of nine artabas per aroura while the remaining two were not subject to

loan by Ammonilla to Taorsenouphis could have been used for the cancellation or reduction of the debt to Diogenis.

Whichever scenario actually occurred, and whether the family strategy to expel Kronion junior worked or not, the large credit incurred by Kronion junior had a serious effect on the family finances. If Diogenis did in fact seize part of the family's property despite the expulsion of Kronion junior, his debt indeed harmed the family property. If Diogenis was still waiting for her money or was repaid by cash borrowed from other creditor(s), the family's financial reputation must have been discredited by the huge outstanding debt. Whichever was the case, potential lenders no longer lent money to the family without requiring a mortgage in real property.<sup>38</sup>

The above reconstruction may explain the different characteristics of the loans before and after AD 138. The family now needed more cash to repay Diogenis or others, being even more short of resources than previously. But their creditors now asked for landed mortgages, and Taorsenouphis and Tephorsais had to become the debtors, placing their land as security.<sup>39</sup> Once the family had defaulted and lost control of the mortgaged land, their finances would worsen ever more; a loss of land results in decrease of income, then, need of a further debt, then another mortgage. In addition, the family's deteriorating economic condition after AD 138 might be a complex result of other circumstances which are hard to prove from the evidence: the death or retirement of Kronion senior, who disappears from the archive shortly after writing his will, could mean the loss of a relatively able manager of family property; the expulsion of Kronion junior could cause a shortage of labour and decrease in the family's income.

rent, then the total rent for seventeen years is 306 artabas. This produces a total value of c. 2,404 drachmas, by multiplying this 306 by seven drachmas six obols, the average price of one artaba of wheat from AD 45 to 160 as calculated by Rathbone (1996) 329.

Although this rule-of-thumb figure of 2,404 drachmas is clearly at the lower end of the possible range of rent value because the rent in kind might have been higher and rent in cash for fodder crops might be required in addition, it is enough to gain some idea about the likely market value of four arouras of land leased for seventeen years. However, it is a different matter to assume that the actual rent Ammonilla paid to Taorsenouphis was close to this figure, since Taorsenouphis might offer a far lower sum when she needed cash urgently.

<sup>38</sup> Rowlandson (1996) 198-199 points out that the size of loans is generally far smaller than the value of mortgaged land and that secured loans tended to be used by persons already in some financial distress. These observations fit the case of the Kronion family.

<sup>39</sup> In a loan contract of AD 109 (*P. Kron.* 8), Taorsenouphis appears as co-borrower with her parents and husband/brother, and she may have provided her land as security, although due to lacunae in the papyrus it is impossible to know if the contract specified any landed mortgage. As not only she but also other family members who do not seem to own land were borrowers, however, the implication of this loan was different from the loans after AD 138.

However, the financial trouble of the family, which was triggered in AD 138, seems not to have led to their complete ruin, at least in the short term. The following three points perhaps allow a more positive view of their life after AD 138. Firstly, even though they mortgaged their land and lost control over it, the family still managed to remain independent to some extent, finding various creditors such as Ammonilla, Thaesis, and Didyme. The family did not rely on a single creditor who might see their financial difficulty as a chance to plunder their landed property, by financing them as much as they needed and waiting for their default. Even if the family's creditors had the intention of plundering the land, each of them would get only a part of it in case of default. By spreading their debts, the family could avoid becoming dependent on a single creditor, and even if the family lost their landed property eventually, the pace of their decline would be slower than if they had depended on a single creditor.

Secondly, Harphaesis served as the village granary guard around AD 144, the same post that his father had held a decade earlier (*P. Kron.* 3 and 6). Although the post was perhaps not liturgical (and so does not necessarily imply that the family retained a certain level of property), this suggests that even after the change of their financial situation in AD 138, the family continued to have sufficient material resources and standing in the village to function in public as they had previously done.<sup>40</sup>

Thirdly, the Kronion family provides no case of mixed loans of cash and crops, which is often indicative of farmers being in an economically weak situation. According to Foraboschi and Gara, mixed loans were a form of purchase of produce, paying the price of produce in advance as a loan in cash and providing seed as a loan in kind.<sup>41</sup> In this form, the debtors and cultivators had to hand over produce instead of cash when the term came, and would not retain the produce at their disposal. If this interpretation of mixed loans as the indicator of an economically weak situation of farmers can be applied to second-century Tebtynis, the absence of such loans in the Kronion family suggests that their economic position was not desperate. Although these three points provide no conclusive evidence of the family's financial situation, they warn us not to assume the bankruptcy of the family soon after AD 138.

<sup>40</sup> It is not certain whether the post of *thesaurophylax* is liturgical, though Foraboschi (*P. Kron.* p. xxxvi) supposes it to be so. In a note to *O. Narm.* 69, R. Pintaudi and P.J. Sijpesteijn incline to see it as not liturgical, since *thesaurophylax* has no entry in Oertel (1917) and Lewis (1982). *Thesaurophylax* is neither referred to in Lewis (1997) nor discussed in Homoth-Kuhs (2005).

<sup>41</sup> Foraboschi & Gara (1982) 78-80. As an example, see *P. Soter.* p. 18-27.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

Several studies have treated the Kronion family as an example of Egyptian peasants who suffered a gradual impoverishment under Roman rule. A close examination of the evidence, however, has revealed that their economic decline occurred not as a slow progression over the first half of the second century AD but rather was triggered by a specific event in AD 138 and became conspicuous in the next few years. The family finances changed for the worse after AD 138 as the size of debts became larger and the family mortgaged land as security. In AD 138, a credit contract was executed between Kronion junior and Diogenis, whose estate Kronion had served as a manager and to whom he had incurred a large debt. This debt was too great to be manageable by the family and they tried to avert a possible disaster by expelling the debtor. Nevertheless, it certainly discredited their financial reputation and perhaps even led to the temporary or permanent loss of property. But even though the family had years of hardship after AD 138, they managed to survive and did not fall into bankruptcy, at least not during the period for which the evidence survives.

The decline of the Kronion family was a consequence of an Egyptian farmer serving a wealthy estate-owner, although we do not know exactly what happened to Kronion junior during his service to Diogenis. The development of large estates and the co-existence of large estates and small farmers and tension between them have been thought to be a result of Roman rule of Egypt.<sup>42</sup> But it is not necessary to suppose that all estate-owners aimed to exploit and ruin their managers and that all managers suffered by serving estate-owners. Therefore, the misfortune of the Kronion family is to be seen not as representative of the contemporary situation but just one episode in the history of one Egyptian peasant family.

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<sup>42</sup> Cf. Bowman & Rathbone (1992) and Foraboschi (1992/3).

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AN ACCIDENTAL TOURIST?  
CARACALLA'S FATAL TRIP TO THE TEMPLE OF THE MOON  
AT CARRHAE/HARRAN<sup>†\*</sup>

*Abstract:* The circumstances surrounding Caracalla's death in AD 217 remain confusing. In particular the presence of the emperor near the famous temple of the Moon at Carrhae-Harran has led to much scholarly speculation. Often a preference for 'the East' has been put forward to explain Caracalla's actions. This paper discusses the various possibilities why he decided to visit this specific temple, and argues that the episode ought to be understood through a combination of religious notions and individual, 'political' needs and conveniences which would have made it impossible for this emperor not to go to a deity whose local cult stood for total, universal power. In the process, this article also provides some clarity regarding the contradictory sources describing the events.

INTRODUCTION

If only Caracalla had eaten something else. He might then not have needed to make a fatal sanitary stop on his way to the famous temple of the Moon near Carrhae/Harran. On 8 April 217 he had to stop to excrete and was murdered in the process. "Such was the end of a monster whose life disgraced human nature, and whose reign accused the patience of the Romans", as Gibbon wrote.<sup>1</sup> This infamous and rather embarrassing ending of the emperor's life turned out to be an important event in the history of imperial Rome: "for the first time an Emperor had died while with his troops on campaign, and had been replaced from within his entourage."<sup>2</sup> Surprisingly enough, Caracalla's reign as a whole has received fairly little attention.<sup>3</sup> His death scene has been more discussed, but without satisfactorily discussing the emperor's motivations for going to the temple of the Moon in the first place.<sup>4</sup> This paper therefore aims

\* We are very grateful for the constructive comments and suggestions made by the journal's two anonymous readers, which have substantially improved the present article. Translations, unless indicated otherwise, are adapted from the LCL.

<sup>1</sup> Gibbon (1896) I 151.

<sup>2</sup> Millar (1993) 144.

<sup>3</sup> MacKenzie (1949); Campbell (2005) 15-20; Mennen (2006); Buraselis (2007). Cf. now also Simelon (2010). Unfortunately, Meckler (1994) and Sillar (2001) remain unpublished.

<sup>4</sup> Hohl (1950). Cf. Arand (2002) 135-136; Domaszewski (1902) 506-509.

to understand *why* Caracalla decided to travel to this specific temple. In the process, we will also provide some clarity in the confusion that scholars find themselves in with regard to the contradictory sources.

#### CARACALLA'S NEAR EASTERN CAMPAIGNS

In 215 Caracalla, like his father before him, found himself engaged in a Near Eastern campaign. Overall, the events in the two years that followed seem to have been relatively unexciting.<sup>5</sup> In 215/6 the emperor led his troops through Mesopotamia and Adiabene, as far as Arbela.<sup>6</sup> He had his winter head quarters in 213/4 at Nicomedia,<sup>7</sup> was in Antioch in both 215 and 216, and spent at least part of 216/7 east of the Euphrates, in order to organise the expedition for the following year. In the process, colonial status was awarded to Antioch and Emesa, possibly to Palmyra (if not already under Septimius Severus), and to Edessa, the former capital of the kingdom of Osroene that was now incorporated into the provincial structure.<sup>8</sup> The ancient sources (Herodian 4.10.1-11.7; Dio 79.1.1) give as a pretext for the campaign a marriage proposal to the daughter of Artabanus, who had claimed the Parthian throne as a contender against Vologaeses.<sup>9</sup> Dio (79.1.1-3) states that Caracalla did not see an enemy while advancing eastwards in 216, but that (79.3.1), "when the Parthians and the Medes, greatly angered by the treatment they had

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Sartre (2005) 149: "the results of Caracalla's second campaign, in 215-217,... were less than spectacular."

<sup>6</sup> For the route taken see Halfmann (1986) 223-230; Tudor (1987). For the context, see Millar (1993) 141-144; Maricq (1957). Cf. Magie (1950) 684-686, with 1551-1554 n. 41-45.

<sup>7</sup> Following the suggestion by Scheid (1998), and taking into account *IGR* IV 1298, as cited and discussed by Birley (1997) 2705, 2746. Caracalla's stay there had traditionally been dated to 214/5. We are grateful to one of the journal's readers for drawing our attention to these references, and to John Scheid for sending us a copy of his article. The latter also kindly informs us that he soon hopes to have the opportunity to test his hypothesis by examining the actual inscriptions, which have been fixed in concrete, when they will be detached for a new display.

<sup>8</sup> Millar (2006), esp. 200-213; Ross (2001) 57-64.

<sup>9</sup> It has been noted that the passage in Herodian matches the attempt by Dio to mirror Caracalla's actions to those of Septimius Severus on a wider scale, with the son taking on only the father's negative qualities. Zimmermann (1999) 211: "... Caracalla durch die Wiederholung identischer Handlungsmuster als Karikatur des Septimius Severus zu präsentieren"; and p. 213: "... Caracalla als gelehrigen Schüler seines Vaters zu präsentieren, der sich... gerade die zweifelhaften Praktiken angeeignet hat." On the two Parthian rival contenders, see Karras-Klapproth (1988) 36-39, and 208-209, respectively.

received, proceeded to raise a large army, he fell into the greatest terror.” Likewise, Herodian (4.14.1) relates how, following the emperor’s death, “Artabanus was advancing with a large and powerful force to punish the Romans”. These scenes must be seen in light of the general tendency of the ancient literary sources to emphasise Caracalla’s wish to be portrayed as a soldier.<sup>10</sup> In any case, and whatever the pretext, Caracalla’s Near Eastern campaign seems to have been “a demonstration of Roman strength rather than a serious attempt at annexation”.<sup>11</sup> The events surrounding the campaigns are presented as relatively straightforward. Quite naturally, most attention has been given to the emperor’s untimely end. As Dio (79.4.1) states, “Antoninus made preparations in his turn; but it did not fall to his lot to carry on the war, for he was murdered in the midst of his soldiers, whom he most honoured and in whom he reposed vast confidence.”

#### DEATH OF AN EMPEROR

The sources seem to be only roughly in agreement on the actual assassination: the praetorian prefect Macrinus plotted for the empire, and may or may not have enlisted the services of at least (but not necessarily exclusively) Martialis, who served as either *evocatus* (reservist), centurion, or *strator imperatoris* (equerry), and who seems to have borne a personal grudge against the emperor.<sup>12</sup> Naturally, it is inherent to any conspiracy that the details remain forever clouded in secrecy, or, in the words of Dio (54.15.2): “it is not possible, of course, for those on the outside to have certain knowledge of such matters.” In this particular case, however, several parallels to the death scenes of other ‘bad’ emperors,

<sup>10</sup> Dio 78.13.1-2; Herodian 4.7.3-7. Cf. Mennen (2006) 257-259; Hannestad (1998) 284. Note, however, the *decrease* of military images on imperial coinage in Caracalla’s sole reign; Manders (2012) 231 fig. 33-34; Rowan (2009) 205.

<sup>11</sup> Campbell (2005) 19.

<sup>12</sup> Herodian 4.12.3-13.5 (centurion); Dio 79.5.3 (*evocatus*: ἐν τε τοῖς ἀνακλήτοις στρατευόμενον); SHA *Caracalla* 6.6-7.3 (*strator*). On Caracalla’s murder, see especially Speidel (2005); Alföldy (1996). On Martialis see *PIR* I, 412, with references to the relevant sources. For Dio, see especially appendix I of Scott (2008) 180-236. The sources disagree on the reasons for the grudge, attributing it either to Caracalla’s execution of Martialis’ brother and personal slights (Herodian) or to the emperor’s unwillingness to promote Martialis to the rank of centurion (Dio). Note that Zosimus (1.10.1), albeit in a very brief passage, explicitly states that ‘Antoninus paid the penalty for fratricide and his slayer was never discovered’ (ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀντωνίνος ἔδωκε τῆς ἀδελφοκτονίας μετ’ οὐ πολὺ δίκην, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ παῖσαντος τοῦτον ἀγνοηθέντος); transl. Ridley (1982). For an overview of the different sources on Caracalla’s death, see Arand (2002) 66 n. 40; 314.

especially Caligula, throw some doubts on the stories' trustworthiness.<sup>13</sup> Matters become even more problematic because of the striking inconsistencies in the description of the situation in which Caracalla got killed. This is what Herodian (4.13.3-5) writes:

Soon after this discussion [i.e. between Macrinus and Martialis] Antoninus, who was spending some time at Carrhae in Mesopotamia, decided to leave the camp and visit the temple of Selene, the main cult of that region. The temple was some distance from the town, needing a proper journey to see it. But not to disorganize the whole army, Antoninus made the trip with a few cavalry, intending to make a sacrifice to the goddess and then return. In the middle of the journey he was forced by a stomach ache to tell the whole column to stop while he went off with a single attendant to relieve his trouble. So everyone turned their faces away and walked off as far as they could out of respect for the emperor's dignity and his modesty while in the act. Martialis was watching every opportunity and spotted the emperor all alone. He ran towards him, pretending he had been summoned by a nod to tell the emperor something or to be told something. He stood over Antoninus while he was pulling down the clothes from his waist and stabbed him with the dagger he had hidden in his hands while the emperor's back was turned. The blow, which caught Antoninus just near the clavicle, was fatal and he died unexpectedly while he was off his guard.<sup>14</sup>

As we will see later, not only is the topography more complicated than Herodian presents, but the description of the deity concerned is also problematic.

Cassius Dio spends much time on the plot, but is brief about the details of the assassination and the specifics of its context. He writes the following (79.5.4-5):

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Tac., *Hist.* 3.68.1; Jos., *A.J.* 19.46-8; Suet., *Cal.* 56.2, 58; Dio 59.29.

<sup>14</sup> συνέβη δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τῆς σκέψεως ταύτης θελῆσαι τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον, διατρίβοντα ἐν Κάρραις τῆς Μεσοποταμίας, προελθεῖν τῆς στρατοπεδείας ἀπελθεῖν τε ἐς τὸν νεὼν τῆς Σελήνης, ἣν μάλιστα οἱ ἐπιχώριοι σέβουσιν. ἀφειστήκει δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὁ νεὼς πολὺ, ὥς ὁδοιπορίας χρῆζειν. σὺν ἱππεύσιν οὖν ὀλίγοις, ἵνα δὴ μὴ πάντα τὸν στρατὸν σκύλη, τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ἐποιεῖτο, ὥς δὴ θύσας τῇ θεῷ ἐπανέλθοι. κατὰ δὲ τὴν μέσσην ὁδὸν ἐπειχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς γαστροῦ, ἀποστῆναι τε πάντας κελεύσας, ἀνεχώρει σὺν ἐνὶ ὑπηρέτῃ ἀποσκευασόμενος τὰ ἐνοχλοῦντα. πάντες τοίνυν ἀπεστράφησαν καὶ ὥς πορρωτάτω ἀπῆσαν, τιμὴν καὶ αἰδῶ τῷ γινόμενῳ νέμοντες. ὁ δὲ Μαρτιάλιος τοὺς καιροὺς πάντας παραφυλάττων, ἰδὼν τε αὐτὸν μεμονωμένον, ὥς δὴ κληθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ νεύματι ἔρων τι ἢ ἀκουσόμενος, προστρέχει, ἐπιστάς τε αὐτῷ τὰς ἐσθῆτας τῶν μηρῶν καθέλκοντι, ἀπεστραμμένον παίει ξιφιδίῳ, ὃ μετὰ χειρὸς ἔφερε λανθάνων. καιρίου δὲ τῆς πληγῆς ἐπὶ τῆς κατακλείδος γενομένης ἀπροσδοκήτως τε καὶ ἀφυλάκτως ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος ἀνῆρέθη.

On the eighth of April, when the emperor had set out from Edessa for Carrhae and had dismounted from his horse to ease himself, Martialis approached as though desiring to say something to him and struck him with a small dagger. Martialis immediately fled and would have escaped detection, had he thrown away his sword; but, as it was, the weapon led to his being recognized by one of the Scythians in attendance upon Antoninus, and he was struck down with a javelin. As for Antoninus, the tribunes [i.e. Nemesianus and Apollinaris, cf. 79.5.3], pretending to come to his rescue, slew him.<sup>15</sup>

Following the passage, Dio discusses, as so often, the omens preceding the emperor's assassination (79.7-8). Again, parallels with other imperial deaths are striking.<sup>16</sup>

Finally, the *Historia Augusta* (Caracalla 6.6), after a brief outline of Caracalla's Eastern campaign, in which the author wrongly mocks him for taking the name *Parthicus* without real cause,<sup>17</sup> tells us the following:

After this he wintered at Edessa with the intention of renewing the war against the Parthians. During this time, on the eighth day before the Ides of April [6 April], the feast of the Megalensia and his own birthday, while on a journey to Carrhae to do honour to the god Lunus, he stepped aside to satisfy the needs of nature and was thereupon assassinated by the treachery of Macrinus the prefect of the guard, who after his death seized the imperial power.<sup>18</sup>

After listing Macrinus' accomplices (including the tribunes Nemesianus and Apollinaris), the logistics of Caracalla's assassination are confirmed (7.1-2):

He was slain in the course of a journey between Carrhae and Edessa, when he had dismounted for the purpose of emptying his bladder and was standing in the midst of his body-guard, who were accomplices in the murder.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>15</sup> τῇ ὀγδόῃ τοῦ Ἀπριλίου ἐξορμήσαντά τε αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἑδέσσης ἐς Κάρρας, καὶ κατελθόντα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου ὅπως ἀποπατήσει, προσελθὼν ὁ Μαρτιάλιος ὥς γε εἰπεῖν τι δεόμενος ἐπάταξε ξιφιδίῳ μικρῷ. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν αὐτίκα ἀπέφυγε, καὶ διέλαθεν ἂν εἰ τὸ ξίφος ἀπερρίφει. νῦν δὲ γνωρισθεὶς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τινος τῶν Σκυθῶν τῶν σὺν Ἀντωνίνῳ ὄντων κατηκοντίσθη. ἐκεῖνον δὲ ... οἱ χιλιάρχοι ὥς καὶ βοηθοῦντες κατέσφαζαν.

<sup>16</sup> This may have more to do with the nature of omens. For imperial deaths, only a limited set of omens was applicable. Cf. Vigourt (2001) 343-354, on how such omens could be employed for the transmission of imperial power.

<sup>17</sup> The cognomen was already bestowed on Caracalla in 199, on the occasion of his father's victory over the Parthians. Cf. Kneissl (1969) 148-151.

<sup>18</sup> *deinde cum iterum vellet Parthis bellum inferre atque hibernaret Edessae atque inde Carrhas Luni dei gratia venisset, die natali suo, octavo idus Apriles, ipsis Megalensibus, cum ad requisita naturae discessisset, insidiis a Macrino praefecto praetorii posititis, qui post eum invasit imperium, interemptus est.*

<sup>19</sup> *occisus est autem in medio itinere inter Carrhas et Edessam, cum levandae vesicae gratia ex equo descendisset atque inter protectores suos, coniuratos caedis, ageret.*

The accounts in Eutropius and the *Epitome de Caesaribus* do not add to our knowledge.<sup>20</sup> The unknown author of the *Historia Augusta*, as we will see later, is more accurate than Herodian on the nature of the deity. On the dates, and indeed some other details, his information is flawed.<sup>21</sup> Firstly, Caracalla's birthday was not eight days before the Ides, which would have been 6 April, but on the 4th of the month.<sup>22</sup> Secondly, Caracalla did not die on 6 April either, but two days later, as is correctly stated by Dio.<sup>23</sup> The link with the Megalensia cannot be used as an argument for the accuracy of dates, since it would have been valid for any date between the 4th and 10th of April. The festival opened on 4 April and had a closing ceremony on the 10th. Though Hadzsits has argued that there is no evidence for specific Megalensian festivities between those dates, and stated that the games on 6 April were in commemoration of Caesar's victory at Thapsus in 46 BC, he ignored the epigraphic evidence, which confirms continuous activities for the festival.<sup>24</sup> Looking at the sources in detail, it seems only clear that Caracalla was on his way to the temple, but never arrived. Whether, however, he was on his way to the temple from nearby Carrhae (Herodian), or from Edessa (Dio and the *Historia Augusta*), which would imply a thirty-mile detour, remains unclear.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, apart from the *Historia Augusta*, which gets dating issues wrong, there is no evidence that the emperor's planned visit should be connected with his birthday celebrations.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Eutr. 8.20: *defunctus est in Osdroena apud Edessam; Epit. de. Caes.* 21.6: *Cum Carras iter faceret, apud Edessam secedens ad officia naturalia... interfectus est.*

<sup>21</sup> Reusch (1931) 51; Hohl (1950) 291-292; Syme (1968) 34: "Everything from 213 to the emperor's death in 217 gets reported in a scrappy fashion, barely intelligible." Cf. Heinen (1971), who shows that notwithstanding the arguments by Reusch (and Domaszewski), the *Vita Caracalli* is not a fraudulent attempt to whitewash the emperor's reputation.

<sup>22</sup> Caracalla's birthday is well-known: e.g. *CIL* VI 1054; XIV 119. As noted by Palmer (1978) 1104 n. 118, "we happen to have more dedications on Caracalla's birthday than on any other emperor's", with reference to Snyder (1940). Cf. Herz (1975) 37; 175-176; 422 n. 21.

<sup>23</sup> Reusch (1931) 51; Hohl (1950) 280, 291. See esp. Alföldy (1996) 10. Eutr. 8.20.2, like Dio, states that Caracalla reigned six years and two months, but has him erroneously die at the age of forty-three; Bird (1993) 131. Cf. Bird (1994) 114, at *Aur. Vict., Caes.* 21.5-6.

<sup>24</sup> Herz (1975) 176-177, *contra* Hadzsits (1930). Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 4.179-392.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Luther (2003) for an ingenious discussion on the location of Caracalla's death.

<sup>26</sup> Even *if* Caracalla had been murdered on his *return* from the temple, it is still doubtful whether that would explain the four days difference between his birthday and his death. Cf., however, Alföldy (1996) 10, 12.



## CARACALLA AND THE MOON CULT

If the sources are in some agreement on the conspiracy as a whole, and contradicting each other about the specifics of the assassination, they are wholly silent on the question of *why* Caracalla would have wanted to visit the temple of the Moon at Carrhae/Harran in the first place. Though some modern scholars have raised the point, it has not been properly discussed. In general, Caracalla's voyage through the East has been interpreted as an *imitatio Alexandri*.<sup>27</sup> But whereas there is no doubt that emulating Alexander was crucial for the emperor's visit to the East and important for some other aspects of his reign,<sup>28</sup> it cannot explain all his actions, and, indeed, not his aborted visit to the Moon at Harran either. Likewise, the fact that Carrhae had been granted colonial status under Septimius Severus, the site's importance in a supra-regional trade network, or even its function as a 'lieu de mémoire' of Crassus' defeat (and hence a location for a possible symbolic revenge), may have played some role, but in themselves they remain unsatisfactory motives for the excursion.<sup>29</sup>

The most explicit attempt to make sense of Caracalla's fatal trip to the Moon at Carrhae/Harran was made by R.E.A. Palmer now over thirty years ago. He placed the visit within the context of a perceived importance of the Moon cult for the Severans in general, and for Caracalla in particular. In fact, he argued that "no doubt Caracalla had formed a religious attachment to Lunus on his earlier expedition with Severus against the Parthians".<sup>30</sup> Palmer furthermore linked the detour to Carrhae to the emperor's birthday.<sup>31</sup> Yet, as we have already discussed, the dating of events does not allow for a sacrifice to be made at Harran for his birthday

<sup>27</sup> Millar (1993) 142-143, at 142: "Abundant contemporary evidence makes perfectly clear that Caracalla's imitation of Alexander was no superficial whim but the determining factor in his actions as Emperor." Cf. Millar (1964) 214-218, esp. 215; Wilkes (2005) 217 (erroneously placing Caracalla's death "near Circesium"), 245; Kühnen (2008) 176-178; Levick (1969). But mind the cautionary remarks by Johnston (1983). Cf. also Salzmann (2001); Rowan (2009) 192-198.

<sup>28</sup> Baharal (1994); Baharal (2003).

<sup>29</sup> Colonial status: Millar (2006) 200. Trade: Jones (1971) 217-220. Crassus' defeat: Mattern-Parkes (2003) 393 n. 39: "Both Caracalla and Julian stopped at Carrhae to sacrifice to the moon — no doubt to propitiate the gods that had destroyed Crassus — before proceeding on their great eastern campaigns."

<sup>30</sup> Palmer (1978) esp. 1107-1108.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* 1108: "When Caracalla's days were truly numbered, the emperor was campaigning in the East and he diverted his route to Carrhae to pay homage to the local male Moon Lunus on his own birthday, 4 April 217. In four days he was dead".

celebrations. But Palmer went even further, and suggested that Caracalla's personal interest in the Moon arose from his own birthday: "an original devotion to the male moon... will have arisen from Caracalla's birth on the feast day of the Romans' Palatine Noctiluca or Diana".<sup>32</sup> However, the date of the feast of Noctiluca is not attested and Palmer's argument, though ingenious, seems ultimately circumstantial (if not circular).<sup>33</sup> Still, an inscription on which much of Palmer's argument is based can be clearly dated to Caracalla's birthday: *[s]ancto die nativitatis tuae* leaves little room for doubt.<sup>34</sup> In fact, the inscription in question does seem to testify for Caracalla's fascination with, and attachment to, the Moon — though not, as Palmer argued, supplying an origin to that attachment. The link between emperor and divinity, however, is clear from line 12: *Nox Dea fit lux*.

Alföldy, who convincingly dated the inscription to 211, suggested that it testifies to Caracalla entering Rome after the death of his father on his birthday, in order to link the British victory to him personally in the strongest possible terms.<sup>35</sup> In this reading, Victory became closely connected to the emperor at a time when the latter was in his well-known struggle with Geta. If correct, it would place the decision to connect himself with the Moon firmly in the hands of Caracalla, rather than this being part of a more general Severan Moon cult, as Palmer suggested.<sup>36</sup> More importantly even, Alföldy shows that Caracalla evidently falsified his year of birth, from 188 to 186, thereby not only making himself two years older, but also making his birthday, the 4th of April, a Monday or *dies Lunae*. This personal choice by Caracalla to link himself to a particular god coheres well with the messages that the emperor broadcast through his coinage. Two recent analyses of the differences between the

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*: "Caracalla held in esteem his birthday deity, the Moongod."

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.* 1097-1107, where he linked *CIL* VI 1080 (= 31236), and esp. line 12 (*nox fit lux*), with the cult practice known for Luca Noctiluca (sometimes identified with Diana, e.g. by Laevius fr. 26; Macr., *Sat.* 3.8.3; Varro, *LL* 5.68). He supported the link through noting that Horace addresses Diana as Luna in the *Carmen Saeculare* 1.35-36, but as Noctiluca "in his poem on the rehearsal of this hymn", cf. p. 1107, referring to *Carm.* 4.6.38. Palmer's argument, that a triumphal arch to Caracalla was situated at the Graecostasis where the male moon god had been worshipped at least as early as the first century BC (p. 1107), cannot count as proper evidence for a fascination by the Severans, let alone Caracalla, with the moon cult. The suggestions of Palmer have been taken up by Mastino (1981) 186-187. For a more reserved reaction, see Alföldy (1996) 19, 22.

<sup>34</sup> *CIL* VI 1080 (= 31236), l. 9, with a full reconstruction in Alföldy (1996) 23-24, 25 fig. 2.

<sup>35</sup> Alföldy (1996) 28, 30.

<sup>36</sup> Palmer (1978) 1086.

images on central coinage during on the one hand the joint reign of Severus and Caracalla, and on the other Caracalla's sole reign, show an enormous rise in the number of coin types emphasising associations between the emperor and the gods when Caracalla came into sole power.<sup>37</sup> Dividing the coin types in *RIC* into different 'representational categories', the category 'divine association' actually rises from 18.2% (198-210) to 66.9% (212-7).<sup>38</sup> Such 'legitimation' of his power through emphasising divine support might also account for Caracalla's choice to include *pius felix* in his titulature, following Commodus in doing so.<sup>39</sup> Within this category of 'divine association', there was also some scope (though formed by only a few types) for coins depicting Diana/Luna (Lucifera).<sup>40</sup> Noticeably, however, not a single building initiated by Caracalla and connected to the Moon cult can be found in Rome.<sup>41</sup>

Such a search for religious support on the part of the young emperor seems a more likely explanation for the flurry of divine references than the oft-cited 'eastern religious climate' of the Severan age.<sup>42</sup> Caracalla chose to legitimate his emperorship by associating himself with a substantial number of gods and by visiting numerous temples. With regard to the Near East, imperial visits by Caracalla to the important cult centres at Bambyx-Hierapolis (Mabug) and Doliche (Dülük) have been postulated by H. Seyrig and M. Facella respectively.<sup>43</sup> As regards Hierapolis, it was however not the city's leading deity Atargatis (who as the 'Syrian goddess' came to be emblematic for the religious life of the Near East as a whole), but rather the local version of Apollo (i.e. Nebu) who was directly associated with the emperor on the local coinage, on account

<sup>37</sup> Manders (2012) 229-242 with fig. 33-34; Rowan (2009) pl. 30, fig. 60-61.

<sup>38</sup> Manders (2012) 230-232.

<sup>39</sup> Dio 77.16.1; Hohl (1950) 286 n.4; Hekster (2002) 92-95; Van't Dack (1991).

<sup>40</sup> *RIC* IV.1, nos. 256a-c, 274a-c, 284a-d, 540a-b, 550a, 554a, 558a-c, 565, 567a-b; Manders (2012) 320 app. 3, also citing the *RIC* references for other third-century coin types depicting Diana/Luna.

<sup>41</sup> Palmer (1978) 1088-1092 and Hamdoune (2009) have argued in favour of an African Severan cult centre with Caracalla as Moongod, based on the Septizonium, but this is based on insufficient evidence, as has been rightly noted by Lichtenberger (2011) 73-74.

<sup>42</sup> Oliver (1978) 381; Mennen (2006) 263-266, though she rightly notices "the fact that Eastern gods hardly occur on coins of Septimius Severus" (p. 262). The many references to Egyptian divinities may well be linked to the supply of grain from Egypt. Cf. Manders (2012) 239-241; Hekster (2002) 110. The notion of Caracalla vs 'the East' is heavily overstated by Ball (2000) 409, and esp. 487 n. 71, where the staging of Verdi's *Aida* in the Baths of Caracalla in Rome is referred to in order to show how "to this day the ghost of the East still returns to haunt Caracalla, almost two millennia after his death."

<sup>43</sup> Seyrig (1949); Facella (2008).

of his oracular ability.<sup>44</sup> Concerning Doliche, a strong case has now been made to suggest that a newly discovered inscribed statue base for the emperor ought to be interpreted as a reflection of an actual visit to the home sanctuary of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus, a local god whose epithets link him directly with the universal power of the leading deity from the Roman state pantheon, and who was particularly popular amongst the military (on whom Caracalla depended so much).<sup>45</sup> In any case, divine association was known to many, and was reflected in both central and provincial coinage. After all, by the third century, if not long before, “an emperor’s personal piety could not remain a private matter”.<sup>46</sup> Association with the gods in order to sanction his reign may well have been a motive for Caracalla to aspire to a visit to the temple of the Moon at Carrhae.

#### CARACALLA AND THE MOON OF HARRAN

Imperial visits to important temples throughout the empire were common in the Roman world.<sup>47</sup> Regardless of whether one prefers to apply to them the term ‘pilgrimage’ or ‘tourism’, such activities formed part of “sacred mobility in the broader sense”,<sup>48</sup> and from that perspective Caracalla’s outing to the Moon temple at Harran can give the impression of being a standard visit. This particular temple was, however, important and well-known, and Caracalla would not be the last emperor who wished to worship at the sanctuary: Ammianus Marcellinus records (23.3.2) how Julian the Apostate, advancing through Mesopotamia on the way to his fateful encounter with the Sasanian King of Kings, paid his respect at Carrhae to the local Moon goddess “to offer sacrifices according to the local rites to the Moon, who is worshipped in that region” (*et Lunae quae religiose per eos colitur tractus ritu locorum fert sacra*).

But perhaps this was more than just a famous cult centre. As we have seen above, Caracalla felt the need to legitimate his rule through trumpeting divine support. And in earlier times “the cult of Sin at Harran

<sup>44</sup> Seyrig (1949) 27. Cf. Lightfoot (2003) 456–469.

<sup>45</sup> Facella (2008) esp. 131: “the honour offered to Caracalla in the central sanctuary of Jupiter Dolichenus was unusual and perhaps reflected particular circumstances”; cf. p. 132, 135.

<sup>46</sup> Fowden (2005b) 554.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Dignas (2002) 134–135 on the possible effects and consequences of imperial visits to cities and their temples.

<sup>48</sup> Horden & Purcell (2000) 446. Cf. the collection by Elsner & Rutherford (2005).

[had] implied the notion of a kingdom of the totality of the land, which was given to the rulers at Harran".<sup>49</sup> The Moon at Carrhae was one of those local divinities that encompassed a degree of divine universality (similar to, though not to the extent of, the Syrian goddess and Jupiter Dolichenus, for both of whom there is evidence for widespread worship), and this no doubt formed an attraction for an emperor who passed by the region with a view to campaigning against the Eastern enemy.<sup>50</sup> Harran-Carrhae had always been well-known in the wider region for its temple of the Moon, known as Ehulhul. It must certainly have been known to Caracalla who was travelling through the region with his mother, aunt and cousins, all from Emesa, and for this semi-Syrian family a 'Syrian' universal deity must have been highly attractive. The temple is first mentioned in a Mari-tablet ca 2000 BC, rebuilt by Asurbanipal in the seventh century, famously rebuilt again by Nabonidus in the mid-sixth century, and was generally established alongside Ur as one of the two main centres of the cult of the Moon, who — in the Mesopotamian Pantheon — was mother to a son Shamash (the Sun) and daughter Istar-Venus.<sup>51</sup> If it is debatable to what degree the indigenous population of Carrhae was actually aware of its religious past, it seems clear that the Ancient Mesopotamian Moon cult had somehow survived here into the Graeco-Roman period, and the local temple was still sufficiently prominent to appear on the coins issued by the city under Caracalla.<sup>52</sup> For the emperor, interested above all in the legitimation (both 'religious' and 'political') of his rule, the perceived permanence of the native cult served his aim well. As regards the precise nature of the cult at this time, however, our sources seem to be confused, and this uncertainty has remained visible in modern literature.

As we have seen above, the ancient accounts are not in agreement about the deity's sex, with Herodian talking about the temple of the goddess Selene, and the *Historia Augusta* referring to the god Lunus. Later sources add to the confusion, such as the reference in the *Doctrina Addai*

<sup>49</sup> Drijvers (1980) 141-142, cited with approval by Fowden (1993) 63 n. 13.

<sup>50</sup> Fowden (1993) 63 n. 13. Cf. Labat e.a. (1970) 281: "Le rayonnement de son culte, bien loin d'être seulement lié à la fortune politique de ces deux villes, s'imposa durablement à toute la Mésopotamie, et, bien souvent, au cours de son histoire, des liens personnels existèrent entre ses souverains et le dieu."

<sup>51</sup> The literature is long. See Green (1992); (1996); Lewy (1946); Tubach (1986) 129-142; Theuer (2000) 329-369.

<sup>52</sup> E.g. Hill (1922) 82 no. 4, with pl. XII.4. Note how Clarke (2005) 604, referred to the "notoriously" long adherence to traditional cults. Cf. Millar (1993) 480.

(an early fifth-century Syriac story about the legendary correspondence between Jesus and a king Abgar of Edessa, expanding a version of the tale known from Eusebius) to the inhabitants of Harran as worshipping the goddess Bath Nikal.<sup>53</sup> Some scholars have attempted their way around this problem by envisaging the emperor touring past multiple shrines. Thus D.S. Potter, for example, stated confidently that Caracalla visited *two* temples:

when he set out from Edessa to see the famous temples of the moon around the ancient city of Carrhae... On April 6 Caracalla participated in the rites of the moon goddess in her temple at Asagi Yarimca, two miles north of the city. On April 8 he set out to make the six-mile journey from Carrhae to the temple of the moon god at 'Ain-al-'Arus.<sup>54</sup>

In addition to these two sanctuaries (Asagi Yarimca and 'Ain-al-'Arus), one more relevant temple has been identified, by S. Lloyd and W. Brice, "in the core of the castle",<sup>55</sup> implying that the famous temple of the Moon was situated at the site now occupied by the eleventh-century citadel, located less than half a mile from the centre of the town of Carrhae.<sup>56</sup> Lloyd and Brice, however, based themselves on an antiquarian approach, taking the literary sources for granted, trying to match archaeology (even if no firm evidence for temples from the Roman period has been found) and backing it all up with apparent parallels from many centuries later. The actual gender problems can of course not be solved,<sup>57</sup> but what would have been relevant for Caracalla was that what fitted in

<sup>53</sup> "Behold, there are those among you who adore Bath Nical, like the inhabitants of Haran, your neighbours" (*w' gyr 'yt bkwn dsqdyn lbrt nykl 'yk hrny' šbbykwn*), as cited and translated in Griffith (2003). Cf. Howard (1981), and now also Illert (2007).

<sup>54</sup> Potter (2004) 146. In the accompanying endnote (p.613 n.100), Potter referred to Lloyd & Brice (1951) "for details of the geography". He added that "no single source shows knowledge of more than one temple. April 6 is otherwise attested as the main festival day for the moon goddess, and, if he visited the goddess then, it would explain how a date for a visit to a temple in the area made it into the *Historia Augusta* account." Cf. Luther (2003) 107.

<sup>55</sup> Lloyd & Brice (1951) 96.

<sup>56</sup> According to Sinclair (1990) IV 29, the temple "may well have stood on the northern slopes of the great mound a little south of the present walled area's centre." *Ibid.*, p. 36-7: "A medieval source implies that the citadel was a conversion from a Harranian moon-temple, and this is confirmed by the polygonal shape of the only tower defending the inner buildings which correspond loosely to the description of the medieval Arab scholars." Cf. Hohl (1950) 279-280.

<sup>57</sup> On these gender issues, cf. Green (1992) 27-28, and Lloyd & Brice (1951) 89, for references to later sources, such as Clemens Romanus, who mentions Selene at Harran, and Eutychius, according to whom a golden image was erected for the male Sin. Cf. Ricci (1982).

with Roman conceptions in his own time. And the cult seems to have been known, and discussed, as is clear from a passage in the *Historia Augusta* (*Caracalla* 7.3-5):<sup>58</sup>

Now since we have made mention of the god Lunus, it should be known that all the most learned men have handed down the tradition, and it is at this day so held, particularly by the people of Carrhae, that whoever believes that this deity should be called Luna, with the name and sex of a woman, is subject to women and always their slave; whereas he who believes that the god is a male dominates his wife and is not caught by any woman's wiles. Hence the Greeks and, for that matter, the Egyptians, though they speak of Luna as a "god" in the same way as they include woman in "Man", nevertheless in their mystic rites use the masculine "Lunus".<sup>59</sup>

The discussion concerning a female and a male deity is understandable in the terms of *interpretatio romana*, but above all it ought to be noticed that the Moon temple at Carrhae-Harran is mentioned in a *Roman* source addressing a *Roman* audience.<sup>60</sup> If Caracalla felt a personal attachment to the Moon at Harran, the specifics of the local cult do not seem to have been of much relevance. Or rather, it is the *deity*, and its *cult*, that are important for the emperor. It would have been immaterial for him whether this concerned Sin or Selene or Lunus or Luna.

## CONCLUSION

Our analysis suggests that Caracalla visited the temple of the Moon at Carrhae-Harran because it was important as such. It did not matter whether it involved a goddess or a god; what *did* matter was the claim, that could be made in this local context, of a certain universality. And this notion can be further strengthened if it is accepted that comparative visits were made to other sanctuaries (such as Hierapolis and Doliche)

<sup>58</sup> At least, if one holds the *Vita Caracalli* as one of the 'major lives' based on (near-) contemporary source material. Cf. still Barnes (1978), Barnes (1995), and Birley (1997) 2744-2748, with the observations of Paschoud & Wirz (2007).

<sup>59</sup> *et quoniam dei Luni fecimus mentionem, sciendum doctissimis quibusque id memoriae traditum atque ita nunc quoque a Carrhenis praecipue haberi, ut qui Lunam femineo nomine ac sexu putaverit nuncupandam is addictus mulieribus semper inserviat; qui vero marem deum esse crediderit, is dominetur uxori neque ullas muliebres patiatur insidias. unde, quamvis Graeci vel Aegyptii eo genere quo feminam hominem etiam Lunam deum dicant, mystice tamen Lunum dicunt.*

<sup>60</sup> On the excursus on the Moon cult in the context of the *Vita* as a whole, and the *Historia Augusta* as a whole, cf. Birley (1991) 30-31, 50-51 table I.



whose cults, from a locally-based underpinning, could be perceived as emblematic for the religious world of the wider region. As we have seen, the fact that this concerned an ‘Oriental cult’ is — in this context — unimportant.

Gibbon may have been partly right in choosing pilgrimage as the most adequate term to describe Caracalla’s motives on his way to his death.<sup>61</sup> Yet pilgrimage (or whatever we call the phenomenon of ancient travel to a sacred site) alone is insufficient to explain the situation. And it would be similarly incorrect to justify Caracalla’s actions in purely political terms, in the context of a so-called *imitatio Alexandri*. It is rather the combination of religious notions and individual, ‘political’ needs and conveniences which would have made it impossible for this emperor *not* to go to a deity whose local cult stood for total, universal power. It is, then, highly ironical that it was the very personal, physical need of Caracalla that put an end to the whole enterprise.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Gibbon (1896) 150, echoed by Fowden (2005a) 550, who described Caracalla as “a typical pilgrim, merely better travelled than most”.

<sup>62</sup> An interesting parallel to the whole episode is the murder of the Danish king Harald Bluetooth, as related by Saxo Grammaticus (book X, section viii). In his version of the story, Harald Bluetooth went into a leafy part of a wood to relieve himself, but was then killed by an arrow shot by the Jomsviking leader Toko (Palna-Toki), who fought on the side of Harald’s son Sueno (Sveinn), who had forced his father out of the country. Cf. Olrik & Raeder (1931) 277, with translation and commentary in Christiansen (1980). We owe the parallel to Ittai Gradel, and the precise reference to David ‘Ash’ Ashurst and David Varley. Cf. Millar (1993) xix: “If in the course of [a car-journey through eastern Turkey] I gained a deeper understanding of why Caracalla had needed to step aside on the journey from Urfa to visit the temple of the Moon-Goddess at Carrhae/Harran, it was still an absolutely essential and invaluable experience.”

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## VERTICAL INTEGRATION IN THE ROMAN ECONOMY: A RESPONSE TO MORRIS SILVER

*Abstract:* Evidence on vertically integrated enterprises in Roman production and trade sectors is by no means as scarce as is often assumed. Both monumental epigraphy and inscriptions on archaeological objects testify to backward and forward integration as an efficiency enhancing mechanism.

In a recent article, Morris Silver discussed a few traces of vertically integrated businesses in the Roman economy.<sup>1</sup> Economists use this term to denote enterprises which are not limited to a single phase of production or trade, but try to control additional, closely related economic sectors on which the success rate of the main phase depends. Backward integration then implies the control of economic activities preceding the main phase, while forward integration refers to the control of processes immediately following the main phase. A few examples may illustrate this mechanism. A cattle merchant breeding cows on his own estate has opted for backward integration, a fish sauce producer selling amphorae in his own shop is applying forward integration, and a merchant who is cultivating grain on his estate, using part of the yield to bake bread and offering both grain and bread in his shop, obviously combines both integration techniques. After discussing three enterprises and their level of vertical integration, Silver concludes that “given the extreme scarcity of relevant evidence, an economist may perhaps be forgiven for squeezing the available ‘documents’ to make them surrender a few secrets.”<sup>2</sup>

This paper will argue that data on vertical integration are not so scarce, but can be found rather easily in Roman epigraphy. Hence, there is no need for squeezing, as vertical integration can be considered a frequently utilized tool to combat the shortcomings of the Roman market and enhance efficiency in production and trade.

### COMPETING IN A VOLATILE MARKET

Roman entrepreneurs were operating in an economy which was far from perfectly integrated. They constantly faced various market shortcomings,

<sup>1</sup> Silver (2009).

<sup>2</sup> Silver (2009) 181.



hampering their business' efficiency: communication with business partners was frequently difficult or even impossible; information was often mutilated, hard to check or already outdated when reaching the entrepreneur; fluctuating supply heavily influenced prices; transport remained slow and often dangerous etc.<sup>3</sup> All these features hindered a smooth communication and cooperation between producers, merchants and customers. In a utopian economy, upon receiving information about a grain shortage in a neighboring village, a merchant would be able to buy sufficient amounts of grain, quickly hire a ship captain to transport his wares and finally sell the grain with a large profit margin. In the actual Roman trading world however, immediately finding someone willing to sell his surplus grain; next, being able to acquire ready transport at a reasonable price; and then cutting out competing merchants by arriving first on the market, was hardly ever self-evident: producers may have preferred to capitalize on the high grain prices themselves, other businessmen may have hired all the transport space and competitors could have satiated the market before a merchant arrived. Thus, entrepreneurs tried to reduce these risks in various ways: product diversification, building informal trust networks of reliable colleagues, looking for protection against predation in the professional *collegia*, relying on slaves and freedmen as agents etc.<sup>4</sup> Vertical integration can be regarded as an additional technique to combat market imperfection. It was no doubt profitable to internalize recurrent economic aspects within the main business. An entrepreneur would then be able to diminish dependency on potentially unreliable business partners and reduce uncertainty about production, yields, prices and quality. Theoretically, vertical integration is likely to enable an increase in scale and efficiency and greatly ameliorate the businessman's competitiveness.<sup>5</sup> We should not be surprised then to find several Roman entrepreneurs adopting this technique.

In the following sections, a few cases of vertical integration in the Roman business world will be analyzed. As a starting point, I will concentrate on trade and transport business and the use of vertical integration by merchants. Each section will deal with one of the most common commodities in Roman trade.

<sup>3</sup> For a general introduction to the risks and problems in the Roman trading world, see Bang (2008) 131-201.

<sup>4</sup> For informal networking and the economic significance of friendship, see Verboven (2002). For agency by slaves and freedmen, see Kirschenbaum (1987) and Aubert (1994). For the economic role of professional associations, see Broekaert (2011).

<sup>5</sup> Ville (1991) 19-21.

### Grain

An excellent example of vertical integration in the grain trade is offered by the inscription of M. Caerellius Iazemis, who operated in Ostia as a grain merchant (*mercator frumentarius*), shipper (*codicarius*) and baker (*pistor*).<sup>6</sup> Iazemis probably started out as a baker, because he was three times elected as *quinquennalis* of the bakers' association. Moreover, an honorary inscription erected by the Roman association of bakers (*corpus pistorum*) mentions a M. Caerellius Zmaragdus as a *curator*, who most likely was related to Iazemis.<sup>7</sup>

His business used backward vertical integration twice. First, Iazemis joined the association of Tiber shippers. This way, he did not have to lose time and effort in finding transport space and was capable to keep down transport costs. Evidently, his vessel(s) could also be used to ship additional wares to Rome. Thus, some extra profits could be made to support Iazemis' main business. Secondly, as a grain merchant he was able to monitor the grain supply to his bakery. He probably organized imports directly to Ostia, where the grain could be loaded on his ship(s). Being independent from merchants' stocks and prices, he was better informed about the amount of grain he would be able to process in his bakery and about the initial investments of buying grain.

Hence, Iazemis successfully integrated three different stages in the production of bread in Rome and would theoretically be able to enhance efficiency in each and every phase. That Iazemis eventually reached the honorary function of *quinquennalis* three times, may indeed be seen as an indication of his wealth and influence and thus of his professional successes. Apparently, investing in vertical integration combining shipping, trade and production, had proved to be a real asset.

Iazemis' business organization was definitely not an exception in the world of grain traders. The merchant family of the PP. Aufidii, who were operating in the first half of the second century, could rely on a very similar vertically integrated grain business.<sup>8</sup> Their commercial activities can be traced back to P. Aufidius Fortis, a wealthy grain merchant, benefactor, patron of several associations and member of the city

<sup>6</sup> *CIL* XIV 4234. The inscription was found in Tivoli, but no doubt originates from Ostia. See Valjus (1998).

<sup>7</sup> *CIL* VI 1002.

<sup>8</sup> For this family, see Meiggs (1960) 203 and 277, and Tran (2006) 70-71 and 398-399.

council in Ostia.<sup>9</sup> He joined the Ostian association of *mercatores frumentarii* and received the honorary function of *quinquennalis perpetuus*. At least two of his freedmen were members of the same *collegium*, viz. Faustianus, a *quinquennalis*, and Epictetus, a *quaestor*.<sup>10</sup> Thus the Aufidii were firmly rooted in the political, social and economic life of Ostia. Yet, the family did not originate from Italy, but from Hippo Regius in Africa, as Fortis' inscription clearly states that he belonged to the political aristocracy of Hippo and was elected a *decurio*. Because of his aristocratic status and involvement in local politics, we can safely assume that the Aufidii owned land in Africa, and very likely grain-producing estates. A third-century inscription, discovered in Bou Assid in Africa proconsularis, indeed mentions a *fundus Aufidianus*.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, it seems likely that the Aufidii were (partially) importing grain, produced on their own lands, to Italy.

Next, Ostian epigraphy mentions a certain P. Aufidius, whose *cognomen* is sadly lost, as a member of the association of ship-owners (*domini navium*), responsible for the dedication of an honorary inscription to M. Iunius Faustus. Faustus' political and professional life closely resembled Fortis' career, as he too was a grain merchant and council member in Ostia.<sup>12</sup> No doubt Faustus regularly entered into contract with the ship-owners to transport his grain cargoes to Rome's harbor. Apparently, it seems likely the Aufidii also possessed their own vessels, which could be deployed for the shipment of African grain to Ostia.

Thus, the Aufidii controlled every single stage in the grain trade, from the production in Africa and the shipment to Italy to the final sale in Ostia. Once again, this strategy seemed to have been very profitable: the Aufidii's wealth and influence is clearly testified by their prominent position in Ostian politics, the tenure of several magistracies in the association of grain merchants and the lavish gifts to the Ostian community.

### *Wine*

As already suggested by the inscriptions of Iazemis and the Aufidii, combining shipping and trade was an obvious solution to reduce the risks of not finding ready transport means. Therefore, merchants were often engaged in a second profession and operated as shippers too. Traders crossing the Mediterranean as well as inland traders making use of river

<sup>9</sup> CIL XIV 303.

<sup>10</sup> CIL XIV 161 and 4621-4622.

<sup>11</sup> AE 1975, 883.

<sup>12</sup> CIL XIV 4142.

transport frequently appear as ship-owners. This feature of Roman business life is well documented for the wine trade. For instance, the Ostian wine merchant (*negotians vinarius*) L. Scribonius Ianuarius was also a member of the association of shippers, who were operating in the Adriatic Sea (*navicularius maris Hadriatici*) and supplying Ostia and Rome with Italian wine and oil.<sup>13</sup> Even epigraphy on archaeological objects confirms the recurrent combination of shipping and trade. In the wreck Dramont A, dating to the middle of the first century BC, several Dr. 1B wine amphorae were discovered which still contained the original stoppers. These stoppers were marked with the name of the wine merchant, Sex. Arrius. On the site, the ship's anchor was discovered too, on which exactly the same name was inscribed. This fortuitous discovery clearly indicated that Arrius was a ship-owner and used his own vessel to transport wine.<sup>14</sup> Turning to river transport, we know that several members of Lyon's association of wine merchants had also joined the *collegium* of shippers on the Saône and were responsible for the diffusion of wine and other wares in the central and northern regions of Gaul.<sup>15</sup>

An example of forward integration in the wine trade can be found in the reliefs on the tombstone of Pompeianus Silvinus, which was discovered in Augsburg and can be dated to the early third century.<sup>16</sup> The first relief shows Silvinus in his shop, selling wine to a passenger. Several flagons, wine barrels and amphorae can be seen behind him. A second scene depicts three men in a tavern, concluding a transaction. One person is reading a *diptychon* and probably represents the wine merchant pondering over a sales contract. Another, most likely the customer, is counting his money on the table. In the background, we can see three shelves with several writing tablets (apparently the merchant's bookkeeping), wine barrels and amphorae protected by wickerwork. This coating is typical for Gauloise 4 wine amphorae, produced in southern Gaul. As Raetia was not exactly famous for its wine production, it seems probable Silvinus was importing Gallic and most likely Italian wine to Augsburg and operating as a wine merchant and innkeeper.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup> *CIL* VI 9682. For the trade specialization of this shipper association, see Pellegrino (1987).

<sup>14</sup> Hesnard & Gianfrotta (1989) 397-398. For the wreck Dramont A, see Parker (1992) 165-166.

<sup>15</sup> C. Apronius Raptor (*CIL* XIII 1911; XIII 11179) and M. Inthatus Vitalis (XIII 1954).

<sup>16</sup> *AE* 1980, 660. See Bakker (1985).

<sup>17</sup> For the import of Italian wines to the eastern European provinces, see Herodian 8.2.3 or the funerary inscription of P. Tenatius Essimnus (*AE* 1984, 707), a wine merchant who

Completely integrated ventures, merging production, shipping and distribution, can easily be detected in the wine trade too. The most famous example, which rightly features in Silver's analysis, is no doubt the enterprise of the Sestii, who combine the production of wine and wine amphorae with ship ownership and possibly an involvement in trade too. Here I will merely add an example from the Germanic trading world, to illustrate the widespread practice of vertical integration, which obviously was not limited to the Mediterranean business world.

Traces of advanced integration can be found in the reliefs, decorating a badly mutilated funerary inscription from Neumagen.<sup>18</sup> The merchant's profession, *negotiator*, can still be deciphered, but his name and the dedication are now lost. However, the different scenes on the stone demonstrate the merchant's diverse activities. The first scene shows a boy, carrying a basket full of grapes, undoubtedly a reminiscence to wine-growing. It is attractive to think of the anonymous merchant as the owner of a vineyard on the banks of the Moselle. A second relief is dedicated to the sale of wine. The last shows a barge with several wine barrels. Apparently, the merchant monitored production, commercialization and transport of wine.

### *Meat and cattle*

We have some vague indications that meat traders too applied vertical integration by investing in cattle breeding (backward integration) or processing the meat (forward integration).

The inscription of M. Cosinius Priscus, a pig merchant (*negotiator suarius*), explicitly states that he was buried on his own estate (*in praedio suo*).<sup>19</sup> It seems feasible that Priscus was breeding and fattening pigs on his estate and consequently sold the animals and/or the meat on the market.

Forward integration was employed by Tib. Mainonius Victor, whose tombstone records he was both a butcher (*lanio*) and a merchant.<sup>20</sup> Apparently, he bred or bought animals and then slaughtered them. As a butcher, he was probably responsible for boning the animals and preparing a variety of meat products. The same combination of slaughtering

originated from the Italian city of Trento but was buried in Passau in Raetia. Maybe he died during a business trip to Raetia or he had settled earlier in Passau and was monitoring the import of Italian wines.

<sup>18</sup> *CIL* XIII 4157. See Schlippschuh (1987) 30.

<sup>19</sup> *CIL* IX 1506.

<sup>20</sup> *CIL* XIII 8351.

and trading was also employed by A. Ibliomarius Placidus, who sold his wares to the soldiers of the *castellum Mattiacorum* in the vicinity of Gross-Gerau.<sup>21</sup>

### *Oil*

Information on oil merchants (*negotiatores olearii*) integrating shipping into their main business is rather rare. In the Gallic trading world, only two merchants undoubtedly combined oil trade with river transport. One inscription mentions a *negotiator olearius* who as a *nauta* was also engaged in shipping wares along the Rhône, while another was erected for a merchant who was a member of both the oil merchants and the *nautae Ararici* sailing on the Saône.<sup>22</sup> For the combination of trade and shipping on the Mediterranean, we can cite the honorary inscription for the shipper (*navicularius*) P. Olitius Apollonius, whose name was also painted on Spanish oil amphorae, indicating his role as an oil merchant.<sup>23</sup>

The scarcity of documents however does not necessarily imply that oil merchants were less likely to combine shipping and trading. No doubt the reasons why grain and wine merchants turned to vertical integration applied to oil traders as well, so we may assume that this technique to enhance commercial efficiency was equally widespread in the oil business.

We are much better informed about oil merchants engaged in the production of both oil and oil amphorae. The rich epigraphy on Spanish Dr. 20 oil amphorae frequently testify to the close connection between production and trade. Three elements will concern us here, viz. the stamps, indicating the producer of the amphorae; the painted inscription (*titulus pictus*) β with the merchant's name; and the *titulus pictus* δ, sometimes mentioning the name of the owner of the estate where the oil was produced.<sup>24</sup> Each kind of information evidently refers to a different stage in the oil business. Hence, whenever we encounter an individual whose name is stated in different epigraphical positions, we can consider this a trace of a vertically integrated business.

First, a few examples of merchants producing their own oil amphorae. In the middle of the second century AD, L. Aelius Optatus was shipping

<sup>21</sup> AE 1997, 1187.

<sup>22</sup> CIL XIII 1996 and VI 29722.

<sup>23</sup> CIL XII 4406 and XV 3974-3975a-c. For this merchant, see Héron de Villefosse (1915).

<sup>24</sup> For a decent introduction in amphorae epigraphy, see Liou & Tchernia (1994).

oil from Spain to Rome. His name was discovered on several *tituli*  $\beta$  on Monte Testaccio.<sup>25</sup> In Azanaque-Castillejo, an amphora production centre near Lora del Río, a stamp was found, bearing the mark LAEOPCOL. These letters can be interpreted as *L(uci) Ae(lii) Op(tati)*, perhaps followed by the abbreviated name of the production center. In the same *figlina*, a second stamp, possibly dating to the second half of the first century, reads QAELOPTATI.<sup>26</sup> Both clearly refer to members of the same family, probably father and son. Recently, in the Dutch town of Beusichem, a stamp with the name of a third relative was found, reading PAELIOPTATI, but could not be dated accurately.<sup>27</sup> Apparently, the Aelii Optati had large interests in the oil business and continued to produce amphorae for several generations. Their involvement in the commercialization however can, for the moment, only be dated to the second century. Hence, it is hard to say whether the Aelii Optati started out as a family of amphorae producers and consequently employed forward integration by widening their scope to the oil trade, or immediately integrated amphorae production in their trading ventures. For the last option we have to assume that they started trading in the first century, but evidence is lacking so far.

Anyhow, the oil business of the Aelii closely resembles that of another Spanish family, the Iuventii. During the reign of Antoninus Pius, two Iuventii were active in the oil trade, viz. C. Iuventius Albinus and Q. Iuventius M[...].<sup>28</sup> Albinus' name can be linked to the letters CIVVENALBEI on a stamp in Malpica, another Spanish amphora producing centre.<sup>29</sup> Research in this *figlina* also yielded the stamps QIAL, which may refer to a Q. Iuventius Albinus, QICSEG and QIM, all dating to the first half of the second century. It is very tempting to identify the merchant Q. Iuventius M[...] with the producer hidden behind the initials QIM. The QQ. Iuventii and C. Iuventius Albinus obviously combined amphorae production with trading, but again it is difficult to differentiate between a merchant using backward integration and incorporating the production stage, and a producer using forward integration by personally commercializing the oil. Yet, we can take the argument one step further, because C. Iuventius

<sup>25</sup> *CIL* XV 3693-3694a-c and 3795.

<sup>26</sup> Chic García (1985) 77; see also Thévenot (1952).

<sup>27</sup> Etienne & Mayet (2004) no. 93.

<sup>28</sup> C. Iuventius Albinus: Blázquez Martínez & Remesal Rodríguez (2003) no. 80 and Liou (1992) no. 4; Q. Iuventius M[...]: Liou & Marichal (1978) no. 5; see also Remesal Rodríguez (1998).

<sup>29</sup> Chic García (1985) 44.



Albinus is also known from monumental epigraphy.<sup>30</sup> An inscription from Lora del Río, the ancient city of Axati, honors Albinus as an *aedilis*, *duovir* and *patronus patriae munificentissimus*. As the family apparently belonged to the municipal aristocracy, it is very likely that they owned one or several estates in the close vicinity of the town and that the *figlina* in Malpica was actually situated on their land. We may then safely assume that, as on most of the domains close to the river Guadalquivir, the Iuventii were cultivating olive trees and producing oil. This way, they would control the three different stages in the oil business. Yet, so far we have no *titulus*  $\delta$  to confirm this hypothesis.

These two examples clearly indicate that vertical integration was not merely employed by individual traders, but usually extended to several members of the family. If this mechanism was commonly utilized, we may venture to connect more merchants' names, which are not as such encountered in the stamps, to producers bearing the same *gentilicia*. Thus, it is possible that the amphora producer C. Antonius Quietus, who was operating in the first half of the second century, belonged to the same family as the merchant C. Antonius Balbus, who was shipping oil to Italy during the reign of Antoninus Pius and who may be identified with an *aedilis* from Cartagena, C. Antonius P.f. Balbus.<sup>31</sup> Likewise, C. Ennius Hispanus, whose name features in several stamps dating to the first decennia of the second century, may be related to C. Ennius Ennianus, an oil trader who was working around the middle of the second century and who also left a trace in Baetican monumental epigraphy.<sup>32</sup> Maybe the CC. Antonii and the CC. Ennii applied the same technique of a vertically integrated family business as the Aelii Optati and the Iuventii. However, it goes without saying that these connections can hardly be more than mere indications of possible family ties. Only additional epigraphical testimonies will be able to confirm these hypotheses. We are on firmer ground with the stamps and *tituli* of the merchant family of the Urittii. The *gentilicium* clearly suggests a Gallic origin and is very rarely attested in epigraphy.<sup>33</sup> During the first century, several members of this family are known from *tituli picti* on Spanish amphorae containing oil,

<sup>30</sup> CIL II 1054.

<sup>31</sup> C. Antonius Quietus: Remesal Rodríguez (1997) no. 41. C. Antonius Balbus: CIL XV 3699a-b (*tituli*) and *CartNova* 73 (monumental epigraphy).

<sup>32</sup> C. Ennius Hispanus: Martin-Kilcher (1987) no. 44b. C. Ennius Ennianus: CIL XV 3852 (*titulus*) and II 1195 (monumental epigraphy).

<sup>33</sup> Gascou (2000).

*defrutum* and fish sauce.<sup>34</sup> In the stamps on oil amphorae however, the name Urittius is only encountered in the second half of the first century.<sup>35</sup> The stamps all read URITTI followed by an abbreviated slave name, which most likely refer to the potters in the *figlina*. Apparently, the Urittii started out as merchants, but after two generations, they decided to open a *figlina* in Baetica, close to the production centers and estates where they bought fish sauce and oil, and employed backward integration.

We can now turn to merchants who were also producing oil, i.e. whose names appear in the *tituli* β and δ. The evidence is meager but nonetheless suggests that the combination of oil production and trade as a vertical integration mechanism did exist. In the middle of the first century AD, several amphorae were discovered in the wreck Port-Vendres II, on which T. Testius Titullus' name was painted as a *titulus* β.<sup>36</sup> An unpublished δ from the same wreck reads *Testi*, suggesting Titullus was also an oil producer.<sup>37</sup> During the 140s, M. Ovius Avillianus shipped oil amphorae to Rome.<sup>38</sup> One of the amphorae preserved a *titulus* δ, in which the *cognomen* Avillianus can be deciphered.<sup>39</sup> As this name is not commonly used, it is very likely that producer and merchant were again one and the same person. Other δ's from amphorae commercialized by Avillianus however mention a different producer, viz. a certain Lucinius who owned an estate called *Barcufiense*.<sup>40</sup> Apparently, Avillianus combined shipping his own produce with commercializing other landowners' oil.

Yet, similar to the vertical integration of trade and amphora production, we can find more traces of vertical integration when we take into account not only the individual merchants, but also their families. The case of the merchant M. Lucretius Optatus neatly connects the vertically integrated personal business with a family business.<sup>41</sup> On one of the amphorae he shipped to Italy, a δ reads *Clodianense Optati*, viz. the name of the estate and its owner. Like Avillianus' *titulus*, the name Optatus presumably refers to the merchant's *cognomen*, indicating Lucretius Optatus was an oil producer. This identification seems all the

<sup>34</sup> Colls *e.a.* (1977) nos. 12-15; Colls & Lequément (1980) 177-186; Blänsdorf (1985) 91; Ehlig (2007) nos. 113 and 141-142.

<sup>35</sup> Callender (1965) no. 1751; Amar & Liou (1984) nos. 218-220.

<sup>36</sup> Colls & Lequément (1980).

<sup>37</sup> Liou & Tchernia (1994) 152.

<sup>38</sup> *CIL* XV 3977-3982a-b.

<sup>39</sup> *CIL* XV 3981.

<sup>40</sup> *CIL* XV 3977-3978.

<sup>41</sup> *CIL* XV 3939-3942.

more likely, because other *tituli* suggest that other members of the *gens* Lucretia too were engaged in oil production.<sup>42</sup> We can assume that the Lucretii as a family combined production and trade, even though Optatus is so far the only Lucretius known from the *tituli* β. Likewise, we may suspect a family relationship between the merchants M. Aponius Pitidus and Cutius Celsianus on the one hand, and the producers L. Aponius and Cutius Alcimus on the other.<sup>43</sup> Their *gentilicia* are certainly much rarer than Lucretius, which increases the chance of a family relationship.

Finally, we can also find some traces of completely integrated oil businesses, combining the production of oil and amphorae with trading. Yet, no individual is known whose name features in the stamps and both the *tituli*. The lack of evidence on a personal, completely integrated venture does not need to surprise us. We already noted that vertical integration was a technique far more commonly employed by family businesses than by a single merchant, and for obvious reasons: monitoring each stage of production and commercialization will often have gone beyond an individual's power. Consigning several business aspects to different family members seemed an adequate solution and amphora epigraphy allows us to reconstruct those family ties.

For the large Spanish families in particular, sources are evidently plentiful. We are no doubt best informed about the business interests of the *gens* Aelia. It has long been observed that the names of dozens of family members can be discovered in stamps and *tituli*.<sup>44</sup> We can now safely add the vertically integrated oil business of the MM. Aemilii. In the middle of the second century, we encounter at least four MM. Aemilii in the oil trade.<sup>45</sup> One of them, Aemilius Rusticus, obviously had ancestors producing amphorae, as several stamps, dating to the second half of the first century and found in the *figlina* in Arva, read MAEMRUS.<sup>46</sup> Recently, a more complete version MAEMRUSTICI with the full *cognomen*,

<sup>42</sup> Lucretia Firmana: Rodríguez Almeida (1980) no. 12. Lucretia Mar[...]: *ib.*, no. 15. Lucretius: Liou & Marichal (1978) nos. 18-19. Lucretius Clarus: *CIL* XV 3704-3705. Lucretii: XV 4196.

<sup>43</sup> M. Aponius Pitidus: Rodríguez Almeida (1983) no. 1. L. Aponius: *CIL* XV 4072. Cutius Celsianus: XV 3849a-b. Cutius Alcimus: XV 3930.

<sup>44</sup> For all the relevant data on the Aelii, see Chic García (1993).

<sup>45</sup> M. Aemilius [...]: Rodríguez Almeida (1972) nos. 4-5. M. Aemilius Cutianus: *ibid.*, no. 3. M. Aemilius Pastor: *ibid.*, no. 1 and *CIL* XV 4084a-b. M. Aemilius Rusticus: Rodríguez Almeida (1979) no. 20.

<sup>46</sup> Chic García (1985) 82.

was found in Fréjus.<sup>47</sup> This series should probably be connected to another first-century stamp, MAEMILIPLACIDI.<sup>48</sup> As for the production of oil, we find the names of two Aemilii in the *tituli*  $\delta$ , along with the name *Aemilianum*, referring to the first owner of an oil-producing estate.<sup>49</sup>

However, in these large families, the exact kind of relationship is usually hard to pinpoint and there is always a possibility that we are trying to group individuals belonging to different branches of the *gens* to obtain more information from the epigraphical data than they actually have to offer. These chances are smaller, though not precluded, when analyzing amphora epigraphy of businessmen with a less common *gentilicium*. Then, indications of vertical integration are more likely to have been related to one and the same family business. A few examples may suffice.

During the first century, at least two Atilii were supplying Rome with Spanish oil.<sup>50</sup> This family may have been producing their own oil amphorae, as the stamp TATILIASIATICI dates to the second half of the same century.<sup>51</sup> Moreover, one of the traders, Atilius Macer, also shipped fish sauces.<sup>52</sup> It is possible that his name is hidden behind the stamp AATMA on a fish sauce amphora.<sup>53</sup> Finally, a *titulus*  $\delta$ , which can be dated to 154 AD, mentions an Atilius Speratus and suggests that, at least in the second century but possibly earlier, the Atilii were commercializing own produce.

Under the reign of Commodus, Fulvius Charisianus (*pater?*), Fulvius Charisianus (*filius?*) and Fulvius Rogatus joined forces in a commercial *societas*.<sup>54</sup> One of the Charisiani can possibly be identified with Q. Fulvius Carisianus (sic), to whom an honorary inscription was dedicated in the Spanish city of Alcolea del Río.<sup>55</sup> The text also mentions Carisianus' father, Fulvius Attianus, and his grandfather, Fulvius Rusticus. This family of traders may be connected with stamps as QFULNIC and QFC, which might be interpreted as Charisianus' initials.<sup>56</sup> We can even assume a relation with the stamp QFRUSTICI, which dates to the end of the

<sup>47</sup> Brentchaloff & Rivet (2003) no. 57.

<sup>48</sup> Chic García (1985) 17.

<sup>49</sup> Aemilius Agathonicus: *CIL* XV 4166. Aemilius Phronimus: XV 4364. *Aemilianum*: XV 4006.

<sup>50</sup> A. Atilius Macer: *CIL* XV 3636. C. Atilius Secundus: XV 3637-3638.

<sup>51</sup> Amar & Liou (1984) no. 214 and *CIL* XV 2717.

<sup>52</sup> *CIL* XV 4720.

<sup>53</sup> García Vargas (2001) 115.

<sup>54</sup> *CIL* XV 3876.

<sup>55</sup> *CIL* II 1064.

<sup>56</sup> QFULNIC: *CIL* XV 2897. QFC: XV 2835.

second or the beginning of the third century and hence cannot refer to Charisianus' grandfather, but, as *cognomina* are frequently 'recycled' within the family, may point to another member of the QQ. Fulvii.<sup>57</sup> Lastly, several *tituli* indicate that the Fulvii were oil producers too. In the middle of the second century, six amphorae from the wreck of Saint-Gervais III were labeled *Charisianum* or *Charitianum* in the  $\delta$  *titulus*. Next, a *titulus* from Rome reads *Fulvianum*, the name of the estate belonging to a Fulvius, while in yet another another Fulvius appears as an oil producer.<sup>58</sup>

### *Fish sauce*

Similar to the oil business, vertical integration in the fish sauce trade can easily be detected by linking the information *tituli picti* have to offer on production and commerce. The rich data on the family business of A. Umbricius Scaurus, who dominated the Pompeian fish sauce business, are definitely the most revealing. Based on the frequency of his family name in the *tituli*, Scaurus must have controlled nearly one third of the production and trade in Pompeian fish sauces.<sup>59</sup>

Two series of *tituli* inform us about fish sauce production by the Umbricii. The first and most explicit series mentions several workshops (*officinae*), run by Scaurus, two of his freedmen (Agathopus and Abascanthus), and his slaves.<sup>60</sup> A second series comprises the preposition *ab*, followed by the names of three *liberti*, viz. Fortunata and again Agathopus and Abascanthus.<sup>61</sup> Sometimes, the names of Scaurus' slaves are found.<sup>62</sup> This formula is usually employed to denote the consigner of the amphora. Hence, it seems feasible that Scaurus' *officinae* had shops too, where customers could order fish sauces. These were then sent to the customer's house by the *officina*'s manager.

It seems that Scaurus himself was mainly focusing on selling the amphorae. Only his name appears as a primary *titulus* in the exact position

<sup>57</sup> Lopez Muñoz (2002).

<sup>58</sup> *Charisianum*: Liou (1980) nos. 1-6. *Fulvianum*: CIL XV 4371. Fulvius: XV 4310.

<sup>59</sup> See Andreau (1974) 276-278; Curtis (1988); Etienne & Mayet (1991).

<sup>60</sup> CIL IV 2572: *G(arum) f(actus) per se ex [o]ffici(ina) [Sc]a[ur]i(i)*. IV 2580: *[--] R[--] / [sco]mbr(i) / primum / [sca]uri / [ex offic]ina Agathopi*. IV 5689: *G(ari) f(los) scombr(i) / optimum / ex officina / A(uli) Umbrici Abascanti*. IV 5692: *G(ari) f(los) scombr(i) / Scauri / ex officina Ninhti*. IV 5693: *G(ari) f(los) scombr(i) / Scauri / ex officina Epicteti*.

<sup>61</sup> CIL IV 2573; 2578; 2594; 5661; 5671; 5674; 5675; 5685; 5688; 5696; 5697; 5712; 5723; 5724; 6921; 9394; 9418; 9419; 10262; 10281.

<sup>62</sup> CIL IV 2576: *G(ari) f(los) / scombr(i) / ab Eutuche Scauri*.

where one would expect the merchant's name.<sup>63</sup> His family members on the other hand are always cited in connection with the production of fish sauce. Maybe he started out as a fish sauce producer and merchant with his own *officina* and shop. As his business began to flourish, Scaurus may have left the production stage to his family while monitoring the sales himself. However, Scaurus' supply was not confined to his own produce, but most likely contained Spanish *defrutum* as well. Two Spanish Haltern 70 amphorae were discovered in Pompei, on which a secondary *titulus*, painted on the arrival in Italy, could be deciphered. These inscriptions often take the genitive case and usually refer to the owner, who had bought the amphora from a shipper or ordered a delivery.<sup>64</sup> One clearly reads *Umbrici Scauri*, while the second gives Scaurus' initials, *A U S*, painted in red ink.<sup>65</sup> Apparently, Scaurus was also engaged in having Spanish sauces shipped to Italy to widen the supplies in his shop. He combined production with selling own produce and importing other sauces.

## CONCLUSION

Vertical integration as a technique to enhance entrepreneurial efficiency can easily be traced in Roman commerce. Merchants clearly understood the value of monitoring several stages of a business enterprise and tried to control both production and commercialization.

We can identify two types of vertical integration. First, we encountered various combinations of production, trade, transport and processing, in which a single businessman was personally engaged in controlling two or more stages. A wine trader using his own ship to transport barrels and amphorae, or a butcher processing and selling meat, were no doubt able to monitor all phases in person, as they more or less simultaneously required the merchant's attention and could easily be combined. Secondly, vertical integration is an adequate mechanism to structure family businesses. Once a merchant starts a large-scale enterprise with economic stages in several provinces or a trade too complex to be con-

<sup>63</sup> *CIL* IV 2574a-b; 2587; 5705; 5711; 9399; 10746.

<sup>64</sup> Primary *tituli* containing the merchant's name also take the genitive case, but are always painted in black ink. For secondary texts, another color is used, so there can be no confusion between the shipper who had transported the amphora and the customer who became the new owner.

<sup>65</sup> Manacorda (1977) 130 and *CIL* IV 5585.

trolled by a single person, relying on one's family members and assigning different phases to different people was a solution Roman businessmen frequently turned to. A Spanish family combining oil production with trade and amphora production, or a family of African merchants growing grain on their estates and using their own ships for transport all employed vertical integration to allocate single stages of production and commerce to relatives, freedmen and slaves.

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## WHIRLWIND OF NUMBERS — DEMOGRAPHIC EXPERIMENTS FOR ROMAN CORINTH\*

*Abstract:* The reconstruction of population-levels for ancient cities is a difficult undertaking. Many methods are present in the literature, each with their own (dis)advantages. This paper presents an illustration on the methodological issues encountered in the reconstruction of the population-levels of an ancient city. The city of Corinth is used as an example, since it has a long history of scholarly interest (including demographic) and it is considered to have played a pivotal role in Roman Greece. Excavations at the site of Corinth have revealed a strongly monumentalized site which seems to at least equal its Greek predecessor. In terms of population, Corinth has been estimated as one of the larger cities in Roman Greece. Corinth is therefore a focal point of academic attention for researchers both directly and indirectly involved in its studies.

### 1. CORINTH, POPULATION AND FOOD

Estimations of population-size and food production in Antiquity are problematic due to the lack of accurate sources and statistics. Various methods have been used to reconstruct these, but it remains a matter of intelligent speculation. An illustration on the methodological issues encountered in such an exercise is presented in this paper. The figures which result from these calculations and deliberations are estimates, relying on imperfect data. The city of Corinth is used as an example, since it has a long history of scholarly interest (including demographic) and it is considered to have played a pivotal role in Roman Greece. Engels's volume *Roman Corinth: an Alternative for the Classical City* argued that Roman Corinth was a service city, i.e. a city that was able to flourish by provisioning a variety of services to visitors of all kinds. The full implications of the book become problematic upon investigation: most of the food for the inhabitants had to be imported via service-provision to visitors<sup>1</sup> or via tax-tribute from neighbouring towns. The discrepancy

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between production and population is large and the arguments of Engels have been criticized in the past,<sup>2</sup> although some studies have used the size derived by Engels as well.<sup>3</sup>

A reassessment of these figures follows, in order to draw tentative conclusions on the demography and agricultural sustenance of Roman Corinth.

## 2. ESTIMATING CORINTH'S AGRICULTURAL POTENTIAL

The first issue of sustenance is addressed by establishing the size of the hinterland and its arable land. The size of the hinterland of Corinth is set here at 865 km<sup>2</sup>. This is based on the measurements by the work of the Athens Centre of Ekistics, directed by Doxiades, whose topographical survey of the region where Kleonai, Nemea, Isthmia and Corinth were located, using the natural boundaries, resulted in ca. 1000 km<sup>2</sup>.<sup>4</sup> Other figures are present in the studies on Corinth as well, all varying between 800-900 km<sup>2</sup>.<sup>5</sup> The variation in these figures is mostly dependent on measuring methods and the inclusion of Kleonai in the territory.<sup>6</sup> At present, it is difficult to confirm an inclusion of the area (pers. comm. J. Marchand) and therefore the area of Kleonai is not included in the territory of Roman Corinth.

The next step is to estimate the part of this territory which is arable, i.e. the area of land on which crops could be grown. Again, various figures are available, measuring from 207 km<sup>2</sup> (Engels) to ca. 295 km<sup>2</sup>.<sup>7</sup> The latter amount based on the average of two agricultural censuses in the region. The idea that pre-modern agriculture could be (cautiously) compared to the Roman era is also argued by Kron.<sup>8</sup> The assumed similarities in exploitation systems would allow for a cautious comparison between ancient and traditional farming methods. There need not be a

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<sup>1</sup> Engels (1990) 27 & 84.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Saller (1991) 351-357; Spawforth (1992) 119-120; Walbank (1991) 220-221.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. Alcock (1993) 162-168.

<sup>4</sup> Sakellariou & Faraklas (1971) 3.

<sup>5</sup> Beloch (1886) 115; Salmon (1984) 19; Engels (1990) 27; Legon (2004) 466.

<sup>6</sup> Walbank (1997) 104; Romano (2003) 299; Marchand (2003); Strabo, 8.6.19 [377] (T229); Plutarch, *de sera numinis vindicat* 7, T180.

<sup>7</sup> Engels (1990) 204; Walbank (1997) 104 — note that the latter figures here are corrected to Sakellariou & Faraklas (1971).

<sup>8</sup> Kron (2000) 277-287.

correlation between these censuses and the actual land-use in antiquity, e.g. in Boeotia the land-use was probably much higher in the Classical period than in the modern period,<sup>9</sup> but it does give an indication of the possibilities. The lack of land-use figures for the ancient world and the uncertainties of applying traditional figures as proxy will prevent the calculation of an absolute yield of production for the Corinthia.<sup>10</sup> Instead, a safer course is to estimate a maximum production during optimum conditions to create an upper limit.

When the measured amounts of arable land are compared to population censuses from 1907, 1920, and 1961, it does not necessarily follow that these represent the maxima of land-usage. The population of the area was highest in 1961, while the size of agricultural land-use was slightly higher in 1911. Although a maximum of arable land could be obtained by taking the highest measured amount of arable land per region (totaling 433.22 km<sup>2</sup>), this would ignore the full implications of the figures: i.e. between 1911 and 1961 some 144 km<sup>2</sup> of arable land was abandoned, while some 132 km<sup>2</sup> of previously unused land was used for agriculture. This raises the question why this change occurred in the agriculture of the 20th century. But it is clear that a maximum of 433.22 km<sup>2</sup> is a presumption, which cannot be supported by these figures at this point. Therefore the largest observed figure of 300 km<sup>2</sup> is used.

Region	Arable land in 1911(sq km)	Fallow or uncultivated land in 1911(sq km)	Arable land in 1961(sq km)	Fallow or uncultivated land in 1961(sq km)	Change in amount of land used (sq km)	Max. arable land(sq km)
1. N.W. corner of Mt. Geraneia	18.76	3.15	2.94	0.86	- 15.82	18.76
2. Isthmia-Crommyonia	1.16	-	20.39	6.67	+ 19.23	20.39
3. Coastal and Loutraki plains, part of Isthmus	76.90	27.41	142.24	31.09	+ 65.34	142.24

<sup>9</sup> Bintliff & Snodgrass (1985) 62.

<sup>10</sup> Halstead (2002) 53-70.

4. Middle and Upper Xerias Valley	10.18	3.87	35.62	13.79	+ 25.44	35.62
5. Solygeia	26.57	5.31	8.35	1.01	- 18.22	26.57
6. Sophiko	114.58	6.96	34.87	3.76	- 79.71	114.58
7. Korphos	31.83	10.06	1.07	-	- 30.76	31.83
8. Hagios Ioannes	3.41	2.00	10.16	1.89	+ 6.75	10.16
9. Part of Kleonai Valley belonging to Corinthia	17.19	8.30	33.07	7.15	+ 15.88	33.07
Totals	300.58 km <sup>2</sup>	67.06 km <sup>2</sup>	288.71 km <sup>2</sup>	66.22 km <sup>2</sup>		433.22 km <sup>2</sup>

Table 1 — Agricultural censuses of 1911 and 1961

Once the size and arability of the land are approximated, the following step is to convert the amount of arable land into a figure representing the number of people sustained by this land. Engels calculated the amount of barley potentially grown in this area, since barley was a staple good commonly grown in dry areas in antiquity. The total amount of people sustained by the hinterland is achieved by multiplying the amount of arable land with a figure for the yield of barley, which was then divided by the amount of barley needed per person per year<sup>11</sup>: 207 (area of arable land) \* 1,200 (hectoliter yield per km<sup>2</sup>) \* 0.5 (fallowing of the land) = 124,200 hl or 7,675,560 kg (at 61.8 kg/hl) of barley, which at a calorific yield of 2,158 kcal per kg barley and a daily calorific need of 2,600 kcal per person, results in 17,524 people sustained. As a result, 36,124,488 kg of barley needed to be imported to Corinth if the total population of the Corinthia numbered 100,000. Using 300 km<sup>2</sup> the land would be able to sustain 25,397 people at maximum capacity. Another model to calculate the amount of food produced by the land is provided by Garnsey, who uses both barley and wheat to establish the yield of the land.<sup>12</sup> Calculations were made for Attica, for which Garnsey proposes an estimated 17.5 per cent of the land was under grain. This percentage was conjectured from

<sup>11</sup> Engels (1990) 203.

<sup>12</sup> Garnsey (2004a) 201-213.

the inscription. If we apply the 17.5 per cent to the Corinthia (865 km<sup>2</sup>), ca. 151 km<sup>2</sup> would have been under grain. Garnsey conjectures that 1/5 of the area under grain would have been used for wheat and 4/5 for barley. The yields for wheat (8 hl/ha or 625 kg/ha) and barley (12 hl/ha or 770 kg/ha) need to be multiplied with these areas.<sup>13</sup> For the Corinthia this would result in the following calculations:

Wheat: 15,137.5 (area under grain) \* 1/5 \* 625 = 1,892,187.5 kg per year

Barley: 15,137.5 (area under grain) \* 4/5 \* 770 = 9,324,700 kg per year

Garnsey proposes a need of 175 kg/year for either wheat or barley, which results in 64,102 people sustained.<sup>14</sup> No basis for this figure could be inferred from this article, although in an earlier article the calorific need/person is set at 1,625-2,012 kcal per day. Combined with a given nutritional value of 3,320-3,330 kcal per kg wheat and 3,320 kcal per kg barley, this would explain the discrepancy between Garnsey's and Engels's figures. Both use different sources for the nutritional values and needs. Garnsey's figures for the nutritional value of barley and wheat, which are based on modern measurements, are used more commonly (pers. comm. P. Degryse). The figure of calorific need per person per day is variable, depending on gender, age, average bodyweight/-height of the population etc. (pers. comm. M. Loopmans). Therefore a range of figures is adapted instead of a fixed calorific need. For now, a choice is made for the average 1,500-3,000 kcal need per person per day based on modern estimates (pers. comm. P. Degryse and M. Loopmans).<sup>15</sup>

Using this range of calorific daily need per person and using the minimum and maximum nutritional value of barley and wheat, based on the figures of Engels and Garnsey, it is possible to establish the agricultural potential or carrying capacity of the Corinthia. For this, the calorific need yearly needs (multiplying by 365) and divided by the nutritional value in order to have a yearly need of barley/wheat in kilogram. For barley this would result in a range of 165-507 kg per year, while for wheat this range would be 164-330 kg per year. These are the resulting calculations:

<sup>13</sup> This could be on the high side; Compare Sallares (2007) 33; 400 kg/ha, although this number is based on textual evidence for central Italy, it is true that the Greek climate suited barley better, since it is better adapted to dryer climates.

<sup>14</sup> Garnsey (2004a) 203.

<sup>15</sup> see also <http://www.wfp.org/nutrition/WFP-foodbasket> and <http://www.wfp.org/hunger/what-is> as comparanda for the daily need as proscribed by the U.N. World Food Program, set at 2,100 kcal pp/day.



*Model using Engels's method:*

300 (max. observed arable land) \* 1,200 (yield barley in hl) \* 0.5 (fallowing) \* 61.8 (weight barley/hl in kg) = 11,124,000 kg barley per year  
 11,124,000 / 165 (barley min. need) = 67,418  
 16,063,797.6 / 507 (barley max. need) = 21,940  
 Maximum population sustained between 21,940 – 67,418

*Model using Garnsey's method:*

Wheat: 15,137.5 (area under grain) \* 1/5 \* 625 = 1,892,187.5 kg per year  
 Barley: 15,137.5 (area under grain) \* 4/5 \* 770 = 9,324,700 kg per year  
 1,892,187.5 / 164 (wheat min. need) = 11,538  
 1,892,187.5 / 330 (wheat max. need) = 5,734  
 9,324,700 / 165 (barley min. need) = 56,513  
 9,324,700 / 507 (barley max. need) = 18,392

Maximum population sustained between 24,126 – 68,051 (results added)

These figures are largely congruent, even though both methods derived from different sources (traditional agricultural census and conjecture from the inscriptions). This is hopeful for the accuracy of these figures, however we must observe that the maxima can be considered extreme. This is not only true because of the large numbers of people, but also because it is based only on cereals. Although cereals make up a large part of the modern diet in developing countries, food is not necessary simply for providing energy. Food deficiencies can lead to problems during development, while malnutrition makes people more susceptible to diseases.<sup>16</sup> Garnsey guessed that cereals perhaps made up 75 per cent of the energy-resources in the average Roman diet, although he states that it is impossible to know the exact make-up of the ancient diet.<sup>17</sup> In the Corinthia, however, there are clear indications for additional food sources, as excavated olive-presses and floral and faunal remains excavated in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore indicate.<sup>18</sup> In the latter excavation, floral remains of wheat, barley, olives, grapes, figs, lentils, bitter vetch, peas, grass peas, chickpeas, pomegranate, mint, caper and millet were identified, while the faunal remains included pig, small fish, sea urchin, small shells and astragali of sheep/goat. The presence of a *pescatorium* or fish-market within the city of Corinth, 3 km from the coast, suggests that part of the diet of

<sup>16</sup> E.g. <http://www.wfp.org/hunger/malnutrition> – World Food Program summary on malnutrition.

<sup>17</sup> Garnsey (2004b) 239-240; although De Angelis (2000) 118 suggests cereals counted for 65-70 per cent of the ancient diet.

<sup>18</sup> Rothaus (2000) 153-154; Bookidis e.a. (1999) 51.

the Roman Corinthian was obtained from fishing.<sup>19</sup> A higher figure of food-production could be assumed by incorporating fishing and stockbreeding into the equation. The production figures for these categories in the ancient world are very difficult to extrapolate safely and therefore another method based on the need for land per family is explored.

This method entails dividing the amount of arable land into plots based on family units. This approach benefits from including the concept of and diversity in ownership in the calculations, while at the same time not focusing on a single crop. Walbank uses suggested plot-sizes from Italy, Arausio and the Dalmatian coast to estimate the number of pre-measured colonist or veteran plots (sizing from 50-30 *iugera* or ca. 12.55-7.53 ha) possible in the area. This results in the availability of ca. 2,500-4,120 plots, based on an average amount of arable land of ca. 309 km<sup>2</sup>. These estimates are compared to other sites where Late Republican – Early Augustan colonization took place. Based on these comparanda and the number of plots, 2,000-3,000 settlers are estimated to have initially colonized Corinth. The article states that this figure refers to the heads of the families, probably following the logic of one plot per family. The total amount of people from these figures is estimated at 7,000-10,000, from which a size per family-unit can be deduced of 3 $\frac{1}{3}$  to 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  individuals.<sup>20</sup> This seems low and Walbank suggests that a more likely population for the Corinthia was probably higher. Using 300 km<sup>2</sup> based on the largest observed agricultural census, the following calculations result:

$$\begin{aligned} 30,000 / 12.55 &= \text{ca. } 2,390 \rightarrow 7,968\text{-}8,367 \text{ people} \\ 30,000 / 7.53 &= \text{ca. } 3,984 \rightarrow 13,280\text{-}13,944 \text{ people} \end{aligned}$$

Although this results in a range between 8,000 and 14,000 people, Walbank notes that the coastal strip between Sikyon and Corinth (ca. 149 km<sup>2</sup>) was already sold to Sikyon, presumably leaving less land available to colonists.

In a more recent study on the Romanization of the Corinthia, Romano distinguishes two phases of centuriation in the Corinthia, based on the orientation of the grids.<sup>21</sup> This is achieved, using aerial photography and topographical survey, by identifying (part of) lines in the area, constituted by courses of ancient and modern roads (following ancient tracks), crop/fieldmarks etc. The problem with this method is the archaeological confirmation of these lines on the ground. (To the author's knowledge,

<sup>19</sup> Williams (1994) 37.

<sup>20</sup> Walbank (1997) 105.

<sup>21</sup> Romano (2010) 158-163.

these have not been excavated and studied in detail, although recently a survey in the east of the Corinthia show a larger number of Late Roman sherd clusters in comparison to the Early Roman clusters.<sup>22</sup> Although various methodological issues might cause (a part of) the difference, it is likely that the density of Early Roman use of the landscape was different than the Late Roman.)

With this archaeological prospection method, a grid was detected in the Corinthia, but also in the area around Kleonai and Tenea. The first phase is associated with the Caesarian Colonia founded in ca. 44 BC, to which a scheme of centuriation covering ca. 100 km<sup>2</sup> can be allotted. The second phase is associated with the Flavian re-founding of the Colonia in ca. 70 AD, to which a centuriated area of ca. 300 km<sup>2</sup> can be allotted. This shows a growth in (allotted) use of the land for agriculture in the first century, which is at odds with the smaller area used for the grid of the city itself during its re-founding.<sup>23</sup> This may be indicative of an increased ruralisation, but other explanations are possible as well. Just because there is no centuriation/city grid identified does not mean there is no agriculture/residential area. Using methods similar to Walbank's, but with different parameters (plot-size= 12-24 iugera or ca. 3.01-6.02 ha; family-size = 2.5-3 individuals) Romano calculated that between ca. 1,500 to 3,000 colonists could be allocated land from the initial area of 100 km<sup>2</sup> for the Caesarian Colonia.<sup>24</sup> In a footnote this number is then recalculated to a population-level of 7,500-9,000 people using the highest estimate of colonists. For the Flavian centuriation scheme, this would imply a total population between 22,500 to 27,000 people.

When using the larger size of 300 km<sup>2</sup>, Romano's methods would result in the following:

$$\begin{aligned} 30,000 / 6.02 &= \text{ca. } 4,983 \rightarrow 12,458\text{-}14,950 \text{ people} \\ 30,000 / 3.01 &= \text{ca. } 9,967 \rightarrow 24,916\text{-}29,900 \text{ people} \end{aligned}$$

Obviously, both Romano's and Walbank's methods were designed to deal with either centuriated land, or land that could be centuriated. It is dealing with allotted land, which is not necessarily aimed at maximizing the carrying capacity of the land. Rather, the allotment of land is a product of the socio-economic, political and cultural setting of the Roman world. This has not been attested in many parts of the Corinthia and it

<sup>22</sup> Pettegrew (2007) & (2008).

<sup>23</sup> Romano (2000) 97.

<sup>24</sup> Romano (2010) 171.

comes as no surprise that the results of these methods are significantly lower than the other methods.

De Angelis and Bintliff employed a method, which is based on the amount of land needed to sustain a family unit of 5 people.<sup>25</sup> For De Angelis this was based on a broader view of the ancient diet, rather than just cereal crops. Bintliff hypothesized the figures based on an idealized (spatial) scenario where the production of the family plot could produce grain, vegetables, occasional tree-crops and a small amount of livestock, including tax plus a small surplus, stating that the varying parameters of reality will influence these figures. De Angelis used 3-4 ha/family while Bintliff used 3.6 ha/family for agriculture in the Iron Age Mediterranean. Although Bintliff's calculation was intended as an indicator for urbanism and agriculture in the Mediterranean in general, De Angelis was calculating the agricultural potential for the poleis of Sicily. Some of these areas were distinctly wetter and colder, with possibly better soil conditions in comparison, although the Corinthia is argued to have been very fertile in antiquity.<sup>26</sup> The size of the cities and their territories on which these calculations were based also seem similar to Corinth.<sup>27</sup> Even if this would not be the case, these figures are being used to estimate the agricultural potential, not the agricultural actuality. Based on these figures, the following calculations result:

De Angelis (min):  $(30,000 / 4) * 5 = 37,500$

De Angelis (max):  $(30,000 / 3) * 5 = 50,000$

Bintliff:  $(30,000 / 3.6) * 5 = 41,667$

An important advantage of these latest methods over the former ones is that they include agriculture as a whole; they do not focus solely on a single crop. This is helpful when estimating the overall agricultural potential. The disadvantage of all these methods is the variation in family-size, from 3 to 5 people. It is difficult to pinpoint an average for the family-size, since this does not vary dependent on socio-economic factors alone, but it has been suggested by M.H. Hansen that size varied over the life-cycle of a family as well.<sup>28</sup> It is interesting to see the ranges of these methods being overlapped by methods based on cereal crop production. (Figure 1) This is not the case for the methods based on land allotment.

<sup>25</sup> De Angelis (2000) 118; Bintliff (2002a) 158.

<sup>26</sup> Engels (1990) 11.

<sup>27</sup> De Angelis (2000) 125.

<sup>28</sup> Hansen (2006) 60.

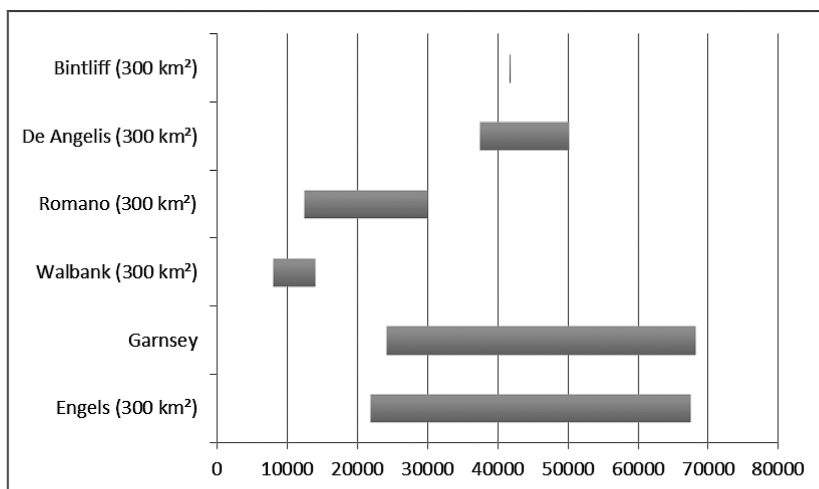


Figure 1 — Results for the agricultural potential of the Corinthia using the various described methods.

As discussed above it is not unthinkable that more land was under cultivation than 300 km<sup>2</sup> (see table 1). Together with the methods based on Bintliff, De Angelis, Garnsey and Engels, this indicates that a carrying capacity of the Corinthia between 40,000 and 60,000 people is feasible. This does not mean that this is the amount of people which lived in the Corinthia, but it provides a framework for the sustainable population-sizes of the area, without proposing the necessity of large-scale import of food.

### 3. ESTIMATING CORINTH'S POPULATION

The next phase is to make an estimation of the population of Corinth and the Corinthia. In the past, multiple methods have been developed to make such estimations and several of these are considered. The reasoning behind using multiple calculations was argued by Hansen as the 'shotgun method'.<sup>29</sup> Since the figures for reconstructing life in the ancient world are elusive, it is more useful to employ a number of calculations to obtain a broader spectrum of quantifications, rather to focus on a single result. When the methods of these calculations are sound, it

<sup>29</sup> Hansen (2004) 9-47 & (2006).

should be possible to have a limited range of results. The range has the capacity of providing valuable information on ancient population-levels, since it is based on more factors and considerations than a single calculation.

Multiple methods of population estimation are used here. Some of these methods are based on recent/ancient figures, which can indirectly be related to the demographic levels of Corinth in the Roman period. Other methods are based on the size of the ancient city, which is multiplied by population density or divided by the average house size multiplied by the average household size.

#### *Methods based on modern figures*

Walbank uses population censuses of 1907, 1920 and 1961.<sup>30</sup> Arguments can be posed against the use of more modern figures, since the socio-cultural and socio-economic setting in Greece in the twentieth century was profoundly different from the first to seventh centuries AD. Contrary to these arguments is the fact that the other methods rely on assumptions, whereas census data are (more or less) observations. These figures are actually lower than the suggested population levels for ancient Corinth: 1907 – 19,908 people; 1920 – 22,797 people; 1961 – 45,151 people. From these figures, Walbank estimated the population of the entire Corinthia to be between 20,000-50,000 people, a figure considerably lower than the estimate by Engels and sustainable via the hinterland of Corinth.

#### *Methods based on ancient figures*

Another method uses ancient figures from which an estimate can be deduced. Where figures concerning accurate population size are not prevalent in the ancient sources, figures concerning the size of armies sent by each city are available. Beloch gathered most of these figures for Corinth and the last two derive from *'An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis'*, which are used for the following calculations.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Walbank (1997) 106.

<sup>31</sup> Beloch (1886); note that the triremes are estimated at crews of 200 each, based on Bintliff & Snodgrass (1985) 49-70 and Bintliff (1997) 231-252. This figure is confirmed by scholarly work on the trireme, e.g. Morrison e.a. (2000) 108, which used a variety of sources (historical, ancient textual sources, epigraphic, iconographic, archaeological).

Source	Occasion/context	Approximate chronology	Army type and amount deployed
Herodotus 9.28.3	Battle of Plataea	479 BC	5,000 hoplites
Herodotus 8.1.43	Battle at Artemision and Salamis	480 BC	40 triremes = 8,000 men
Thucydides 1.27.2	War against Corcyra	435–433 BC	3,000 hoplites; 30 triremes = 6,000 men
Thucydides 1.46.1	War against Corcyra	433 BC	90 triremes = 18,000 men (note that this effort is significantly larger than the other figures)
Thucydides 1.60	War against Corcyra	432 BC	1,600 hoplites; 400 lightly armed troops (some of these troops were mercenaries)
Thucydides 4.70	In Brasidias army	424 BC	2,700 hoplites
Xenophon, <i>Hell.</i> 4.2.17	Battle of Nemea	394 BC	3,000 hoplites
Thucydides 2.33.1	Restoration of tyrant Astakos	431 BC	1,500 hoplites; 40 Triremes = 8,000 men
Thucydides 4.100.1	Boeotia after battle of Delion	421 BC	2,000 hoplites

Table 2 — Figures derived from historical sources

The first problem with these figures is that they stem from the pre-Roman phase of Corinth. This means that they can only provide an indication of the possibilities. It indicates how large the city could have grown within a given natural framework, which would not have changed significantly between the Classical-Hellenistic and the Roman period. Admittedly, the lack of figures in the Roman period is the most pragmatic reason for usage of pre-Roman sources. The figures are not all as useful: those mentioned in Thucydides 1.46 and Herodotus 9.28 are high, whereas others are much lower. The reliability of ancient figures is a problem in general, since the recording of these figures is not rooted in a modern historical discourse, where a more objective account of events is paramount. These figures can therefore be exaggerated both ways, i.e. being smaller or larger than reality. The uncritical correlation of demography to



these military figures would result in substantial swings in population levels, since the highest figure is twelve times larger than the lowest. Beloch stated that the effort of crewing 90 triremes would have pushed the Corinthians to the limit, which seems to indicate an exceptional situation.<sup>32</sup> The number of hoplites deployed would be 2,700-5,000 (the figure of 1,600 hoplites mentioned by Thucydides is ignored, since it represented mostly mercenaries). Beloch takes the figure of 5,000 hoplites as half the number of citizens (i.e. males, with citizen rights), which results in 10,000-12,000 citizens in Corinth. Based on demographic spread of age and gender in nineteenth century Germany, Beloch concluded that the defense force of a polis was approximately  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the total free population. Therefore, Beloch placed the total population of the Corinthia on 90,000 people, of which 70,000 would live within the city-walls of Corinth.<sup>33</sup>

Bintliff also used military figures described by ancient authors to calculate the total population of Boeotia during the Classical period.<sup>34</sup> He calculated the number of men by establishing the total amount of forces deployed. In 395 BC, the Boeotian Confederacy, consisting of 11 regions, needed ca. 1,000 hoplites and 100 cavalry per region to which Bintliff adds lightly armed troops.<sup>35</sup> For all the 11 regions combined, this would total 23,100 men. Boeotia maintained a fleet of 50 triremes as well. The crewing of 50 vessels would amount to 10,000 men (200 men/ship), which resulted in the total military manpower of 33,100 men. This number is multiplied with the number of people in a household (which is stated as 5, for family + 1 slave). This amounted to a total population of 165,500 people in Boeotia. Now let us try this approach with the figures according to Beloch for the Corinthia:

$$10,000 \text{ citizens} * 5 = 50,000$$

$$12,000 \text{ citizens} * 5 = 60,000$$

Thus, the population of the Corinthia would range between 50,000-60,000 people. This result should be questioned, however, since only the number of hoplites (5,000) is used as a basic starting point. When using the figures provided by Thucydides 1.27<sup>36</sup> on hoplites and triremes and extrapolating the lightly armed troops and cavalry based on the ratio found in Bintliff's calculation:

<sup>32</sup> Beloch (1886) 121-122.

<sup>33</sup> Beloch (1886) 42-53 & 478.

<sup>34</sup> Bintliff & Snodgrass (1985) 49-70; Bintliff (1997) 231-252.

<sup>35</sup> Bintliff & Snodgrass (1985) 61.

<sup>36</sup> See also Beloch (1886) 119-121.

3,000 hoplites  
 3,000 lightly armed troops (extrapolated)  
 300 cavalry (extrapolated)  
 30 triremes at 200 people each = 6,000 man crew

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12,300 men

12,300 \* 5 = 61,500 people in the Corinthia.

Following Bintliff's model, the amount of arable land required for this population can be calculated. The size of a hoplite landholding at 5.4 ha, which is based on the nutritional needs per family (1000 kg 'wheat equivalent'/year), the yield (9-12 bushels/acre) and the amount of land lying fallow (33-50 per cent). It must be noted that only the men of hoplite-states or cavalrymen were assigned to such landholdings, which in the case of Boeotia means that the need for arable land for the higher classes in Boeotia could be fulfilled.<sup>37</sup> For Corinth, the amount of arable land would be: 3,300 (cavalry + hoplites) \* 5.4 = 178.2 km<sup>2</sup>. This means that in the Corinthia some 122 km<sup>2</sup> of arable land was present for the lower classes.

Engels used the figure for free male citizens provided by J. Salmon, which is set at 15,000 men between 20 and 49 years of age.<sup>38</sup> With an average life expectancy of 25 years, these 15,000 represented 43 per cent of all males. Thus, the total amount of men amounted to 34,883 and, with a ratio of male-female as 1:1, this resulted in 69,767 people. Furthermore, one slave per free household (and thus per free man) is assigned: 69,767 + 15,000 = a population of ca. 85,000 people.

On the basis of army-figures mentioned by the ancient authors, Hansen was able to employ seven models, which were derived from his own proposals or from other scholars. The foundation for the proposals is found in sources varying from pre-modern analogy, ancient written and epigraphic evidence, to the study of archaeological sites.<sup>39</sup> The results of these models indicated a spread of quantities, which demonstrated the limits of population reconstruction based solely on historical figures. This essay proposes to use his models on the figures mentioned for Corinth in the ancient sources, as gathered by Beloch. Although the total amount of army-figures ranged from 2,700-9,000 (Thucydides 4.70 and 1.27), the upper figure of 5,000 is used instead (Herodotus 9.28.3). This choice is based on the fact

<sup>37</sup> Bintliff (1997) 242.

<sup>38</sup> Salmon (1984) 165-169; Engels (1990) 83.

<sup>39</sup> E.g. Hansen (1986) 16-21 for the study of the proportion of males unfit for military service.

that Hansen's models account for citizens, which is not necessarily true for all the fighting forces cited here (e.g. Thucydides 1.55 where ca. four-fifths of Corcyrean prisoners of war were slaves). These figures are put in use for models 4, 5, 6 and 7 respectively, as presented by Hansen.<sup>40</sup> The models are presented here and a result for the minimum and maximum number of army — or hoplite — figures is given:

#### Model 4

2,700 – 5,000 as army figures (= all fit for service 18-60 years old) =  
 80 per cent of all citizens (including those unfit for military service)  
 All male citizens 18-60 = 3,375 – 6,250  
 All male citizens 18-60 = 53 per cent of all males  
 All male citizens (of all ages) = 6,368 – 11,792  
 All citizens (female and male, all ages) = 12,736 – 23,584 people

#### Model 5-6

2,700 – 5,000 as army figures (= all in the field army 20-50 years old)  
 = 80 per cent of all citizens (including those unfit for military service)  
 All male citizens (20-50) = 3,375 – 6,250  
 All male citizens (20-50) = 41 per cent of all males = 73 per cent of  
 all adult males  
 All adult male citizens (18-80+) = 4,623 – 8,562  
 All male citizens (all ages) = 8,232 – 15,244  
 All citizens (female and male, all ages) = 16,464 – 30,488 people

#### Model 7

2,700 – 5,000 as the number of hoplites (= all hoplites in the field army  
 20-50 years old) = 80 per cent of all of the hoplite census (including  
 those unfit for military service)  
 All of hoplite census (20-50) = 3,375 – 6,250  
 Plus ca. 2,075 – 3,845 men (20-50) beneath hoplite census = 5,450 –  
 10,095  
 All male citizens (20-50) = 41 per cent of all males = 73 per cent of  
 all adult males  
 All adult male citizens (18-80+) = 7,466 – 13,829  
 All male citizens (all ages) = 13,293 – 24,621  
 All citizens (female and male, all ages) = 26,586 – 49,242 people

The decision not to use models 1-3 was made because these models assume the figures to be population figures, while in this instance their military nature is obvious. Models 5 and 6 differ in using the smallest and largest figures; therefore a minimum and maximum figure cancels

<sup>40</sup> Hansen (2004) 43.

this distinction. Note that the models all assume a different quantitative relation between the historical figure and the actual demographics. Although this does provide a stronger argument for the calculated range, it is at the cost of accuracy. Absolute accuracy of the ancient population levels is not the object here, since it is arguably impossible to obtain. The accuracy and the reliability of these figures, however, are a point of discussion. Russell criticized the figures of Beloch and others as being too high, while not considering the actual size of the cities. Parkin is skeptical towards the use of ancient figures for demographic calculations and argues instead for a better understanding of the workings of ancient demography.<sup>41</sup> Caution is therefore advisable. What can be deduced from these models is a population range of 12,000-55,000 people. Issues emerge, however, when using the figure of 18,000 people in model 5: a maximum population of 109,756 people emerged from the calculation, making the range of population enormous (12,000-110,000). No scholarly work claims that the population level of Roman Corinth did not lie within this range. Still, the results concentrate at ca. 15,000-50,000 inhabitants based on pre-Roman army figures. This is a low figure in comparison to the other calculations by Beloch and Engels, which were considerably higher. This could be the result of the starting information used. At any rate, the figure of 15,000 free male citizens as suggested by Salmon is higher than the estimation of 10,000-12,000 free male citizens as portrayed by Beloch. Another point of critique on Engels' estimation is the apparent assumption that the armies were drafted solely from the urban population, hence the addition of 20,000 people living in the countryside. But if we see the polis as a political entity, not necessarily the physical cityscape, surely soldiers were drafted from the rural population or nearby villages in times of war, if their socio-economic status was sufficient. It is therefore logical to calculate the hoplite landholdings of the entire region.

The problem with these calculations remains their chronology. The figures represent the Greek era. Therefore it should also be useful to calculate the population on the basis of the city-size of Roman Corinth.

#### *Methods based on the city-wall enclosure and population densities*

Engels investigated the size of the city, which was set at 525 ha within the Greek city-walls and 200 ha for the area within Lechaion and

<sup>41</sup> Russel (1958); Parkin (1992) 68.

between Corinth and Lechaion.<sup>42</sup> The figures for population density were based on critical comparisons with other ancient cities (mostly Pompeii, although Ostia and Alexandria are discussed as well). He used the lowest average density for a European town, which is 100 ha and a higher density, based on Pompeii's average population density: 164 ha, hence the figures of 100-160 people/ha. This resulted in a population range 52,500-116,000 inhabitants for the city.

The difference between the estimates is due to the differences in estimated city-size. The surface area of Corinth could be determined by measuring the surface within the city-walls. The enclosure dated from the early phases of the city and the circuit of the walls presumably remained unchanged until Late Roman times.<sup>43</sup> Here, only the figure for the intramural area without the long walls (525 ha) is used, since the evidence for urban residential space between Corinth and Lechaion alongside the Lechaion road is rather limited, while the possible centuriation of this land hints at its agricultural nature.<sup>44</sup> 'An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis' sets the urban area of Corinth at 600-700 ha, based on the territory enclosed by the Classical city walls.<sup>45</sup> A recent work on the tile-works of Corinth, which were situated north of the city wall, between the long walls, could perhaps be indicative of the lack of urban structures between the long-walls. The excavations at this site revealed that the kilns were in use between the third to fifth centuries AD. Yet they also revealed two Roman floors, (chronology based on 5 finds and tiles) which are stated to be associated with possible housing.<sup>46</sup> Pottery finds could indicate habitation or the dumping of debris outside the city-wall. Kilns and other 'industrial' works were not typically associated with dense urban areas. Further study of the historical sources indicates that the area from the harbour of Lechaion up to the city was largely an agricultural area.<sup>47</sup> Based on the lack of evidence for urban (dense) housing between the long walls and the presence of some 'industrial' works, the calculations will start using the 525 ha as the largest basis for calculating the city population.

With the city-area two methods can be employed. The first one is to estimate the population density and the amount of the city-area actually

<sup>42</sup> Engels (1990) 81.

<sup>43</sup> Slane & Sanders (2005) 244-245.

<sup>44</sup> Romano (2003) 290; Romano (2000) 88.

<sup>45</sup> Legon (2004) 467.

<sup>46</sup> Merker (2006) 3-5.

<sup>47</sup> Rothaus (1995) 304.

used for residential purposes within ancient cities. The second method involves the estimation of the average size of a house, the number of inhabitants, and the estimated amount of the city-area used for living. The latter method probably results in less secure figures, because three estimations (read: educated guesses), as opposed to two in the former method, are used in the multiplication. The lack of research into housing at Corinth further prohibits the accuracy of both calculations. Therefore both methods are employed to provide a broader spectrum of comparison.

As stated above, Engels used densities of 100-160 p/ha to calculate the city-size of Corinth. This resulted in a city-population ranging between 52,500-84,000 people for 525 ha. But he did not take the usage of city-space into account, i.e. he did not estimate the amount of space used solely for housing. Bintliff used the 'guesstimated' figures of 120-300 people/ha to calculate the population range of a city.<sup>48</sup> This results in a population ranging between 63,000-157,500 people. It must be noted that these figures were derived from a paper concerning urbanism in the central and eastern Mediterranean from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age, which is an environment of autarkic or semi-autarkic poleis of (substantially) smaller size (4-150 ha). The usage of these figures for a 'super-sized city' is probably the cause for such an anomalously high result. It is hard to conceive that this one city could have held and sustained a population of only 8,000 less than the entire estimated population of Boeotia.<sup>49</sup> Therefore, these results are not taken into the final comparison.

In another model, Bintliff sets the figure of land used for living at 56 per cent of the total city area, which he derived from earlier work by Kolb and Travlos.<sup>50</sup> This model copes with the fact that not all of the surface-area was used for habitation. With a density of 225 p/ha for domestic space, which is based on a study of the population levels of ancient towns and cities in the Argolid during the Greco-Roman period,<sup>51</sup> the following calculation results for Corinth:

$$525 * 0.56 * 225 = 66,150 \text{ inhabitants.}$$

Hansen proved himself a critic to the figures used in this approach, not so much in the method employed.<sup>52</sup> The main point of his argument was

<sup>48</sup> Bintliff (2002a) 158-160.

<sup>49</sup> Bintliff (1985) 210.

<sup>50</sup> Bintliff (1997) 235.

<sup>51</sup> Jameson e.a. (1994) 542-546.

<sup>52</sup> Hansen (2004) 14.

that the ratio between urban and rural population as provided by Bintliff at 4:1 for urban: rural was considered too high. Instead, he argued for a ratio of 2:1, using data from different sites and employing another method for calculating total population from army-figures. Using various examples from different surveys, Hansen estimates the ratio between public and domestic space for large 'category 5' cities (= Hansen's classification for cities with a territory exceeding 500 km<sup>2</sup> and an intramural space exceeding 150 ha) at 2:1 for the entire walled area.<sup>53</sup> Smaller cities are estimated to have had relatively more intramural domestic space, thus a ratio of 2:1 is adopted. In this instance, these methods are already including uninhabited space within the total enceinte. Also, he assumes a population density within the domestic space at an average of 150 p/ha, and his calculations based on the number of houses per hectare (see below) 'confirm' this. This results in the following calculation for Corinth:

$$\text{Population} = 525 * 1/3 * 150 = 26,250$$

It is necessary to remember that these figures were derived from towns with varying densities and that these figures reflect the Greek period, making it rather difficult to employ the suggested ratios of 4:1 and 2:1 to calculate the rural population since the landscape of hamlets and farmsteads from the Greek period changed with the introduction of nucleated settlements of the Roman period.<sup>54</sup> These ratios demand all the urban space and therefore also the urban space from settlements within the Corinthia.

#### *Methods based on city-wall enclosure and house-size*

Another method, as suggested by Hansen concerning the population of walled poleis, is extrapolating house-size, number of houses on a hectare, and the number of people in a household.<sup>55</sup> Although this calculation is indeed very difficult to use on the Roman city of Corinth, it will be mentioned briefly. It goes without saying that a proper usage of this method in the Roman era would require a study similar to that of Hansen, only with its focus shifted to the Roman era. In other words: one has to study the houses in Greece during the Roman era and try to determine the average number of houses present in the towns and cities on a hectare. Hansen estimated the number of houses per hectare within the

<sup>53</sup> Hansen (2006) 22, 43 & 61.

<sup>54</sup> Alcock (1993) 105-119.

<sup>55</sup> Hansen (2006) 47-63.



poleis by extrapolating the data from seven poleis. This resulted in 30-33 houses per hectare, with a household of five, assuming that only  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the intramural area was used for habitation in larger cities. For Corinth, this results in:

$$\text{Population(min)} = 525 * 30 * 5 * \frac{1}{3} = 26,250$$

$$\text{Population(max)} = 525 * 33 * 5 * \frac{1}{3} = 28,875$$

*Critique of the city-wall enclosure methods and alternatives*

The results of 26,250-28,875 inhabitants must be handled with caution due to reasons mentioned above. That said, why should the area enclosed by the Greek city-wall be related to the size of the Roman city? As stated above, the city-walls and the long-walls clearly fell into disrepair during the Roman period; in the western sections indications of the robbery of stone-blocks were found. Activity was only indicated near the arch of the Isthmian Gate during the Roman period, but this was mainly caused by the road leading through at this location. No Roman repairs were found and the road fell into disuse with the collapse of the arch sometime during the fourth century AD.<sup>56</sup> Other cities also saw the neglect or destruction of their city-walls in the Roman era, e.g. Thespieae and Tanagra saw the disuse of their city-walls, which were only to be rebuilt during the Late Roman period (pers. comm. J. Bintliff). The lack of new Roman buildings, instead of reused Greek buildings, near the Greek city wall may also indicate that the enclosure was not used entirely for the Roman city.

This reconciles with 240.6 ha of urban space, which is the size of the Caesarian Colonia at Corinth in 44 BC, as reconstructed by Romano. Although the evidence used by Romano, i.e. crop-marks, field boundaries etc., can help indicate reconstruction of a city-grid, it does not provide detailed evidence on residential areas. Although the reconstructed grid, which aligns with the northern city wall, does not cover the enclosure of the ancient city-walls, it is not evidence for the lack of residential areas outside this grid. Nor does the evidence indicate that the entire grid was used for buildings. One cannot calculate the percentage of domestic space in Corinth by dividing 240 by 525 without ignoring some known facts: within the reconstruction of Romano there are several major non-residential features, the largest of which is a circus with a maximum

<sup>56</sup> Carpenter & Bon (1936) 79 & 124-125.

estimated length of 388 m.<sup>57</sup> Other non-domestic buildings or areas, e.g. the Forum, gardens, streets etc., could also be present in this grid and only further archaeological research will have a chance disclosing these. What are the possibilities of population estimates with this reconstruction? First of all, it is necessary to acknowledge that the city grid was planned with the foundation of the Colonia, thus not excluding the possibility for expansion beyond the borders of the grid at a later date.<sup>58</sup> The data, however, do not indicate whether the entire 240.6 ha was used, and in fact a later Flavian re-founding the Colonia suggests that the city grid had contracted in size by ca. 40 per cent.<sup>59</sup> This would be equal to a city size of ca. 145 ha in the late first century AD, and these two figures relate directly to the Roman situation of the city, rather than deductions from the pre-Roman situation. Therefore, they can provide valuable insight in comparison to the other calculations based on army-figures and agricultural potential.

As a summary, the table below provides the totals of the various calculations, using the 525 ha figure, the 240 ha figure and the 145 ha.

Population city (525 ha)		
	Pop (min)	Pop (max)
Engels (1990)	52,500	84,000
Bintliff (1997)		66,150
Bintliff (2002)	63,000	157,500
Hansen (2004) pop. dens.		26,250
Hansen (2004) houses	26,250	28,875
Population city (240 ha)		
	Pop (min)	Pop (max)
Engels (1990)	24,000	38,400
Bintliff (1997)		30,240
Bintliff (2002)	28,800	72,000

<sup>57</sup> Romano (2005) 600.

<sup>58</sup> Romano (2003) 285.

<sup>59</sup> Roman (2000) 97.

Hansen (2004) pop. dens.	12,000	
Hansen (2004) houses	12,000	13,200
Population city (145 ha)		
	Pop (min)	Pop (max)
Engels (1990)	14,500	23,200
Bintliff (1997)		18,270
Bintliff (2002)	17,400	43,500
Hansen (2004) pop. dens.		7,250
Hansen (2004) houses	7,250	7,975

Table 2 Results from the various methods for different city-sizes

*Reviewing the whirlwind*

It is important to consider the fact that none of these figures can be confirmed as ‘right’ or ‘wrong’ at present, but each of the methods used has its own advantages and disadvantages when approaching antiquity. Issues were described for some calculations, such as the method suggested by Bintliff, which resulted in a maximum population-level of 157,500 people. The calculation using the size of the plots by Walbank is also useful for investigating the earlier phases of Roman Corinth in more detail, but the low results are expanded with figures from population censuses. These are excluded in the summary, along with the conservative figures on agricultural potential from Engels’s initial calculations. Although the figures concerning military deployment in Classical times may, at best, be indicative of the Roman period, excluding them would mean ignoring the only numerical data on Corinth available, hence they will be included.

The figures from the 525 ha-option have a range ca. 26,000-84,000 people, while the figures from the 240 ha-option have a range ca. 12,000-38,000 people and the 145 ha-option ca. 7,250-23,200. These three ranges overlap very little, which could be perceived as a major obstacle in the research, unless the results are critically reviewed. Two facts need to be remembered: first, neither the 525 ha size, nor the 240 ha, nor the 145 ha reconstruction is based on excavation or intensive field-survey. What happened between city-grid and city wall is not known in detail. Also,

there is also no indication that the entire space within the originally Greek city-wall was occupied with structures, let alone residential structures. This fact is only accounted for by the methods of Hansen and Bintliff, which use (1) city area (2) population density (3) a factor to calculate how much of the area was used for habitation. Hansen's figures are low results if compared to the established agricultural potential of 40,000 to 60,000 people sustained. And if we examine Romano's reconstructions for the city grid, the ratio of  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the area used for residential space (as suggested by Hansen's method) seems low and needs to be confirmed by further archaeological excavation. If the 525 ha is considered, the results are better, but the largest figures from Bintliff's methods for 525 ha and 240 ha exceed the agricultural potential. Thus, although the methods are similar, the choice is made to use the lower figures for the 525 ha by Bintliff's methods, the figures for 525 ha by Hansen's methods and the figures (except 72,000) for 240 ha by Bintliff's methods. This results in a city population between 26,250 and 66,150. Now a comparison of this range with the army-figures is needed:

Data from army figures		
	Pop (min)	Pop (max)
Beloch (1886)		70,000
Bintliff (1985) I (using the 5,000 by Herodotus)	50,000	60,000
Bintliff (1985) II (Using the 3,000 of Thucydides)		61,500
Engels (1990) (for the city)		85,000
Hansen (2004) model 4	12,736	23,584
Hansen (2004) model 5-6	16,464	30,488
Hansen (2004) model 7	26,586	49,242
Average total	26,447	54,259

Table 4 Results of calculations using army figures

The averages below refer to the minimum or maximum figures for all the methods. These lay in the range between the higher results for 240 ha and the lower results of the 525 ha. Population censuses of the earlier twentieth century AD indicate a maximum population of 50,000 for the

entire Corinthia. The calculations on the agricultural potential severely limit this range, if a model of self-supply is presumed. Using the range of 26,000-60,000 as the city population and the proposed ratios between urban and rural populations by Hansen (2:1) and Bintliff (4:1) would result in a combined population for the Corinthia ranging from 31,200-90,000. If the maximum for the agricultural potential from the De Angelis method is taken (72,000 people for the entire Corinthia), the ratios could then be used to calculate the maximum urban population at 48,000-57,600 people. Again, we should consider these ratios with some reserve, since they are used to describe Classical Greece, not Roman Greece. Changes in the Greek social and political landscape under the Roman occupation are quite considerable: some resistant cities were destroyed while some survived or grew, possibly at the expense of others. Another important difference could be the nucleation of the landscape within Roman Greece: the central place dominated the rural hinterland considerably more.<sup>60</sup> A blunt description would be that the typical classical farmstead or hamlet working only small plots of land yielded to the Roman villa-estate with numerous hectares of land. Signs of initial land centuriation would indicate that smaller plots were divided among more numerous landholders, but the emergence of villae from the first century onwards, as described by Wiseman and later Rothaus, confirm this description.<sup>61</sup> Although it must be noted that our knowledge of ancient Corinthia is far from complete, one could imagine that this change in agricultural production had an impact on the ratio between rural and urban populations.

The ratio between urban and rural populations might have been less than 4:1 in the Roman era, and this may very well be the case if the lower estimates for the city of Corinth are taken into consideration. As seen for a city of 145 ha, in which the calculations show a demographic range of 7,250-23,200 inhabitants (table 4), a higher ratio of rural population is more likely, unless the Corinthia was not heavily populated. Using the ratios of 4:1 and 2:1, the total population would result in a total population ranging from 8,700-34,800. The rural population may even have been higher, which may be indicative of a difference in urban demographic nature between the Greek and Roman city. It implies a heavier agricultural exploitation by people living outside the city, whereas the classical polis-model describes the majority of the people living in the city exploiting

<sup>60</sup> Alcock (1993) 105.

<sup>61</sup> Wiesman (1978); Rothaus (2000).

the immediate land surrounding the city at a 5 km radius, with the secondary settlements placed in a 15 km radius from the main centre.<sup>62</sup> For the moment, this discussion lays beyond the scope of this study, since the Corinthia has not been fully studied yet. The rural population of Early and Middle Roman Corinthia is still a matter of debate, since survey results do not reveal a busy countryside before the Late Roman period.<sup>63</sup> Nonetheless, it is interesting to see what kind of implications demographic calculation experiments *can* have on settlement and agricultural exploitation.

As stated in the beginning, these are all estimates and the result of (hopefully) intelligent speculation. But in the author's mind, considering the disadvantages and advantages of each method, a city population ranging 30,000 to 50,000 seems likely, although by no means definite and/or not prone to change. The estimation of a rural population is difficult at this stage of the research, but with the ratios discussed above a total population for the Corinthia between 40,000 to 60,000 seems likely.

#### 4. ADDITIONAL INDICATORS OF POPULATION

Water supply and the number of seats in theatres can be supplementary indicators of the ancient demography. These indicators are problematic, since they both assume an indirect relationship between figure and actual population. Both these figures are influenced by other cultural factors, which cast doubt on this relationship. Seat capacity has been estimated for the Odeion and the Circus, although the author was unable to find figures for the Theatre and the Amphitheatre. The Odeion has been estimated at a capacity of ca. 3,000 spectators, while the Circus has an estimated capacity of 12,000.<sup>64</sup> Both figures are low in comparison to the majority of population estimates for the city. Arguably, the capacity does not fulfill the need for the entire population, but only the segment which was allowed (by social/cultural/political/economic status) to visit. The possibility of visitors from outside the city renders these figures even more unreliable.

<sup>62</sup> Bintliff (2002b) 219.

<sup>63</sup> Pettegrew (2007).

<sup>64</sup> Romano (2005) 599; Corinth Computer Project; <http://corinth.sas.upenn.edu/ad1500-deum.html>.

The water-supply will be addressed shortly in order to illustrate the problematic nature of certain figures. The modern Corinthia has a semi-arid climate with an average annual temperature of 18.4 degrees and average annual air humidity of 70 per cent.<sup>65</sup> But at Corinth there is an ample supply of water due to the local geological conditions.<sup>66</sup> At the fountain of Peirene for example horizontal tunnels dug in the terraces of limestone and marl bedrock reached higher aquifers and still provide the fountain with water. Furthermore, Landon records a further 24 other natural springs throughout the city. Apart from these, artificial water sources were built as well, of which the best example is the aqueduct of Hadrian. These fed artificial springs such as the Fountain of Glauke but these water sources have fed a number of bathing complexes as well.<sup>67</sup>

The construction of Hadrian's aqueduct in the second century AD increased Corinth's water-supply with 80,000 m<sup>3</sup> of water per day. This would suffice modern requirements of 300,000 people although Y. Lolos reasons that this structure fulfilled the needs of the new bathing complexes.<sup>68</sup> This renders an additional calculation for the population of Corinth by Engels implausible<sup>69</sup>: Engels reasoned that the springs of Corinth had an average total output of 36 cubic meters per hour, based on the flow-rate of Peirene. This resulted in 315,360 cubic meters per year. Using a high consumption rate of 4.5 cubic meters of water per person per year, he calculated a population of 56,000 people, while with a low consumption rate of 1.5 cubic meters a year, a population of 168,200 was sustained. This calculation becomes unrealistic if one unleashes the vast quantities provided by the aqueduct of Hadrian upon this calculation. First, consider the calculation based on the natural springs:

36 \* 24 = supposed daily flow of Corinth's natural springs = 864 cubic meters per day  
 864 \* 365 = 315,360 cubic meters from Corinth's natural springs per year  
 315,360 \* 0.8 = supposed annual flow of Corinth's natural springs minus 20 per cent for non-domestic purposes = 252,288 cubic meters per year  
 252,288 / 1.5 = 168,192 people (low cons. Rate) 252,288 / 4.5 = 56,064 (high cons. Rate)

<sup>65</sup> Sakellariou & Faraklas (1971) 12-13.

<sup>66</sup> Landon (2003) 43-44.

<sup>67</sup> Biers (2004) 459.

<sup>68</sup> Lolos (1997) 295.

<sup>69</sup> Engels (1990) 179-181.



Now the calculation for the aqueduct:

$80,000 * 365 = 29,200,000$  cubic meters a year  
 $29,200,000 * 0.8 = 23,360,000$  cubic meters = annual flow of aqueduct of Hadrian minus 20 per cent for non-domestic purposes  
 $23,360,000 / 1.5 = 15,573,333$  people (low cons. rate)  $23,360,000 / 4.5 = 5,191,111$  people (high cons. rate)

This calculation demonstrates that the aqueduct must have been a source of water mainly for non-essential or non-domestic purposes. It also demonstrates the limits of the use of these calculations when estimating population levels.

## 5. CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

The object of this paper was to illustrate the various methodological issues encountered while trying to calculate an estimate for the agricultural potential and population of a Roman city in Greece. Naturally, there are more methods and figures which can be used, but for these purposes the applicable methods for Corinth have been used. Some points should be made on the argumentation presented here.

Firstly, the settlements of Isthmia, Kenchreai and Lechaion were not accounted for in this estimate. They have been omitted because the knowledge concerning residential areas of the latter two sites is limited. At Lechaion, only the Basilica was excavated in the 1960s, and although Romano identified a small grid-plan here as well, the archaeological evidence does not really enlighten us yet as to the structures within this grid.<sup>70</sup> An earlier study by Rothaus indicates that Lechaion was a small bustling port, but the size of the settlement was not discussed.<sup>71</sup> Research into the site of Isthmia does not reveal a large urban settlement, although ceramic evidence demonstrated the wide variety of contacts abroad.<sup>72</sup> In the Late Roman period, the site becomes militarized, which will undoubtedly have had an impact on the population and its composition.<sup>73</sup> The excavations at Kenchreai were focused mainly on the harbour area, leaving the exact size of this site still in the dark. Although the excavations indicate a revival in

<sup>70</sup> Romano (2003) 295.

<sup>71</sup> Rothaus (1995) 304.

<sup>72</sup> Gebhard (1994) 78-95; Marty (1994) 117.

<sup>73</sup> Kardulias (1994) 143; Gregory & Kardulias (1990) 502.

the first century AD, the recent study of the cemeteries in combination with a renewed excavation will hopefully shed more light on the residential areas of the site.<sup>74</sup> These sites will contribute something to the total population size of the Corinthia, which could possibly need to be increased after further research, although these sites do not constitute major urban centres such as Corinth itself.

Secondly, the use of agricultural censuses of traditional agriculture (or of all ethno-historical or ethno-archaeological references) must be considered with caution. The size of agricultural production of 100 years ago does not need to be representative of the maximum agricultural use of the Corinthia. There can be a variety of factors which could have stimulated or withheld agricultural development and population levels. At present, with only a part of the region intensely surveyed, this method seems to be the best available. Even with the availability of an accurate reconstruction of the agricultural situation of the Roman period, the censuses are sources which offer a numerical representation of observed agricultural practices.

Thirdly, the issue of catchment and distance to the centres has been disregarded in this assessment, though naturally these would have had an impact on past land-use. Since the aim has been to calculate maxima for the agricultural potential, the figures are possibly in need of downsizing when catchment is taken into account.

Fourthly, the careful reader may have observed a total disregard for the obtaining of food other than agriculture. What role fishing played in the food provision of Corinth is an object of further study, but it provides some flexibility in the figures acquired by this research — albeit not without certain limitations — without having to change assumptions on Corinth's economy and commerce. Seaborne commerce is another factor which has been left out of the equation and, although the two harbours would have tied Corinth into the Roman world, this essay has argued for a model in which large-scale importation of food was not conducted.

If one takes into account the fact that all calculations are liable to change as research continues to develop, the implications of a lower population estimate for Corinth mean that it cannot be seen as a Megalopolis in the same league as the cities of Asia Minor and Alexandria. One of the pillars of the argumentation is that Roman Greece saw a depopulation of the rural landscape in favour of a few large, though substantial, cities — amongst which Corinth was considered one of the

<sup>74</sup> Rife e.a. (2007).

larger ones. A smaller sized city would indicate a decreased population if the reasoning for Roman Greece is to stay intact. Other larger cities (Thessalonike, Nikopolis etc.) need to be investigated in terms of population and sustainability as well, before any conclusions on the whole of Greece can be drawn. A discussion will either confirm that nucleation took place in the Roman period, or it will nuance the discourse.

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AUF DEM HOLZWEG. BEVÖLKERUNGSDICHTE UND  
NATÜRLICHE RESSOURCEN  
ÜBERLEGUNGEN ZUM HOLZBEDARF IM RÖMISCHEN RHEINLAND\*

*Abstract:* The first part of this paper is a critical examination of a study published a few years ago, in which Karl Peter Wendt and Andreas Zimmermann tried to calculate the population in the Roman Rhineland during the second century AD. It was their aim to create a basis for estimating demand and use of natural resources in a landscape. This contribution pursues the question as to the extent in which wood was used in antiquity. Examples are collected from archaeological contexts, where wood is well-preserved and allows for calculations on its use as building material, timber and firewood. This analysis is followed by a consideration whether it is currently possible to determine the consumption of wood in the Roman Rhineland convincingly. The article concludes with a critical assessment mainly discussing the long-standing problem of timber shortage in the Roman period.

DIE SCHÄTZUNG VON BEVÖLKERUNGSZAHL UND -DICHTEN IM RÖMISCHEN  
RHEINLAND ...

Im Jahr 2008 hat Karl-Peter Wendt in Zusammenarbeit mit Andreas Zimmermann in einer umfangreichen Studie die Bevölkerungszahl im römischen Rheinland des 2. nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts zu schätzen versucht.<sup>1</sup> Geographisch entspricht das Untersuchungsgebiet dem Kartenblatt der römischen Siedlungen des 1.-5. Jahrhunderts im Geschichtlichen Atlas der Rheinlande.<sup>2</sup> Es umfasst das linksrheinische Areal zwischen Quadriburgium/Qualburg im Norden in einer Linie über Aquae Granni/Aachen bis Caranusca/Garche im Süden. Die östlichsten Siedlungsplätze sind Bingium/Bingen, Altaiensium/Alzey und Eisenberg im Donnersbergkreis. Für dieses knapp 23.000 km<sup>2</sup> große Gebiet errechnen Wendt und Zimmermann eine Zahl von 250.000-410.000 Bewohnern, das entspricht 11-18 Personen

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<sup>1</sup> Wendt (2008). Im folgenden Abschnitt wird der Gedankengang jeweils mit Bezug auf die Studie von Wendt und Zimmermann entwickelt; an den zitierten Stellen ist die ihren Argumenten zugrunde liegende Literatur ausgewiesen. Es sei hier auf die methodisch wie inhaltlich ähnliche Studie von Steuer (2007) hingewiesen.

<sup>2</sup> Cüppers & Rüger (1985) Karte III 1.



pro km<sup>2</sup>. Auf der Basis dieser Schätzung werfen sie die weit reichende Frage auf, was eine solche Bevölkerungszahl für die Nutzung der Landschaft bedeutete.

Ehe eine solche Überlegung mit Blick auf die Ressource Wald und Holz im Mittelpunkt stehen kann, ist der von Wendt und Zimmermann vorgelegten Bevölkerungsschätzung Aufmerksamkeit zu schenken. Ihr Ergebnis fußt auf einer nach ländlichen, urbanen und militärischen Kontexten differenzierten Betrachtung der Region im 2. Jahrhundert. Für den ländlichen Raum liegen Beobachtungen zur Villendichte in drei Schlüsselgebieten — Hambacher Forst, Aldenhovener Platte und Krommer Rijn — zugrunde. Anhand der Überlegung, wie weit Landgüter voneinander entfernt lagen, kalkulieren Wendt und Zimmermann die Größe der jeweils bewirtschafteten Flächen und anhand dieser die Zahl der auf den Höfen lebenden Personen. Für Güter mit einer Wirtschaftsfläche von annähernd 50 ha liegen die Schätzungen bei 20 Personen, für doppelt so große Anlagen bei 25-50 Personen. Im Blick auf den gesamten Untersuchungsraum schließen Wendt und Zimmermann so auf eine Zahl von 72.000-143.000 Landbewohnern.<sup>3</sup>

Die Bevölkerung der Städte und Dörfer ist auf unterschiedliche Weise kalkuliert. Für die Vici im kaiserzeitlichen Rheinland — berücksichtigt sind Kastellhöfe, nicht aber zivile Kleinsiedlungen — wird von einer Einwohnerzahl ausgegangen, die der Größe der militärischen Besatzung vor Ort entsprach.<sup>4</sup> Im Hinblick auf die städtischen Siedlungen Colonia Ulpia Traiana/Xanten, Colonia Claudia Augusta Agrippensium/Köln und Augusta Treverorum/Trier, das in der Studie dem Rheinland zugerechnet wird, stellt die überbaute Fläche das Quantifizierungskriterium dar. Maßgeblich für die Überlegungen von Wendt und Zimmermann zur innerstädtischen Bebauung sind vorliegende Studien zu Xanten und Augusta Raurica/Augst. Diese zeigen, dass in den beiden Koloniestädten 50-60 % des Siedlungsareals für Wohn- und Gewerbebauten genutzt wurden. Ein eindrucksvolles Beispiel, wie dicht die Bebauung in einer zivilen Siedlung sein konnte, liefern Beobachtungen im römischen Vicus bei Göggingen im Kreis Heilbronn. Grabungen der vergangenen Jahre ergaben Hinweise auf durchschnittlich 14 Häuser pro Hektar. Befunde in Grinario/Köngen und Lopodunum/Ladenburg wiederum lassen eine Zahl von 5-10 Bewohnern je Haus plausibel erscheinen. Auf dieser Grundlage errechnen Wendt und Zimmermann für die Städte und Dörfer im römischen Rheinland des 2. Jahrhunderts 150.000-240.000 Personen.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Wendt (2008) 195-205.

<sup>4</sup> Wendt (2008) 205.

<sup>5</sup> Wendt (2008) 205-210.

In der untersuchten Region waren im betreffenden Zeitraum je eine Legion in Bonna/Bonn und Xanten stationiert. Wendt und Zimmermann kalkulieren sie mit einer theoretischen Maximalstärke von je 6.300 Mann. Mit dieser Schätzung beabsichtigen sie, den Umstand auszugleichen, dass die Stärke von Spezialeinheiten und Straßenstationen nur schwerlich quantifiziert werden kann und nicht in ihre Rechnung einfließt. Zu den Legionssoldaten kommt die Besatzung von 18 Hilfstruppenkastellen mit durchschnittlich je 750 Mann. Das militärische Kontingent im Rheinland wird vor diesem Hintergrund für das 2. Jahrhundert auf etwa 26.000 Personen geschätzt.<sup>6</sup>

#### ... EIN SICHERES FUNDAMENT?

Wenngleich die beiden Autoren von der Zuverlässigkeit ihrer Schätzungen überzeugt sind<sup>7</sup>, ergeben sich bei näherer Betrachtung eine Reihe von Fragen. Primär ist auf zwei grundlegende Aspekte hinzuweisen:

1. Mit ihrer Studie intendieren Wendt und Zimmermann, Daten bereitzustellen, anhand derer künftig die Landnutzung in einem bestimmten Gebiet, dem römischen Rheinland, diskutiert werden kann. Vor diesem Hintergrund ist die Bemerkung "in römischer Zeit existierte eine arbeitsteilige Gesellschaft, in der eine größere Gruppe von Menschen nicht an der Produktion von Nahrungsmitteln beteiligt war [...]. Eine bedeutende Anzahl der Menschen lebte in kleineren und größeren Städten."<sup>8</sup> problematisch. Sie impliziert nämlich, dass die Personen entsprechend der Einteilung in *villae rusticae* einerseits sowie Städte und Dörfer andererseits unterschiedlichen Tätigkeiten nachgingen — die Landbevölkerung der Agrarwirtschaft, die Einwohner von Städten und Dörfern Handel und Gewerbe. In konkreten Zahlen hätte eine Landbevölkerung von schätzungsweise 72.000 Personen im ungünstigsten Fall mehr als dreimal so viele Städter versorgen müssen, bestenfalls wäre die Zahlen von 143.000 Land- und 150.000 Stadtbewohnern annähernd ausgewogen.<sup>9</sup> Gleich, wie man die Zahlen dreht, sie gehen in keiner Weise mit der gängigen Forschungssicht überein, dass während der römischen Kaiserzeit wie auch in späteren vorindustriellen Kulturen 80-90 % der Bevölkerung in der Landwirtschaft

<sup>6</sup> Wendt (2008) 210-211.

<sup>7</sup> Wendt und Zimmermann erachten die Ergebnisse insbesondere im Blick auf die ländliche Bevölkerung als sehr zuverlässig, vgl. Wendt (2008) 219.

<sup>8</sup> Wendt (2008) 205.

<sup>9</sup> Wendt (2008) 211 Tab. 10.

tätig waren<sup>10</sup>, und folglich — von regionalen Eigenheiten und Abweichungen abgesehen — nur etwa ein Zehntel der Bevölkerung in Städten lebte.<sup>11</sup>

2. Vier Jahre vor der Publikation von Wendt und Zimmermann erörterte Werner Eck im Rahmen seiner Geschichte des römischen Köln auch die Bevölkerungszahl auf dem Territorium der Stadt. Mit einer Fläche von mindestens 4.000 km<sup>2</sup> entspricht es knapp einem Sechstel des von den beiden Autoren untersuchten Raumes. Eck geht davon aus, dass im urbanistischen Kern der Colonia Claudia Augusta Agrippensium 20-40.000 Personen lebten, dazu einige tausend in den Vorstädten. 40.000 Einwohner nimmt er für die kleineren Siedlungen an, im Schnitt 100 Bewohner pro Hektar. Landwirtschaftliche Güter von 50 ha und mehr bedürfen Eck zufolge der Arbeitskraft von mindestens 15 Personen, so dass er für die etwa 5.000 Einzelgehöfte von 75.000 Bewohnern ausgeht. Damit kommt Eck im Blick auf das Territorium von Köln auf wenigstens 140.000 Personen, einschließlich der im Gebiet stationierten Truppen sogar auf mehr als 150.000.<sup>12</sup> Diese Zahl entspricht in etwa bereits einem Drittel bis der Hälfte der von Wendt und Zimmermann angenommenen Bevölkerung des knapp sechsmal so großen 'Rheinlandes'. Die beiden Autoren setzen sich mit dieser Kalkulation und den unterschiedlichen Resultaten nicht auseinander.

Sicherlich lassen sich beide Anstöße bis zu einem gewissen Grad ausräumen. Für die nicht von der Landwirtschaft lebende Bevölkerung ergibt sich ein deutlich reduzierter Wert, wenn man in Wendt/Zimmermanns Studie entgegen ihrer Praxis zwischen den Bewohnern von Städten — Köln, Xanten und Trier — sowie Dörfern unterscheidet. Mit etwa 60.000 Personen<sup>13</sup> sind dann noch 15-24 % der kalkulierten Bewohner des kaiserzeitlichen Rheinlandes als städtische Bevölkerung anzusprechen.<sup>14</sup> Mit Blick auf den zweiten Punkt war ein großer Teil des Kölner Territoriums zweifelsfrei wesentlich fruchtbarer als etwa die nördlichen Teile des römischen Rheinlandes. Entsprechend muss mit unterschiedlichen Bevölkerungsdichten gerechnet werden, und die Kalkulation von Eck kann nicht ohne weiteres auf das gesamte von Wendt und Zimmermann in den Blick genommene Areal hochgerechnet werden.

<sup>10</sup> Stellvertretend Pleket (1990) 71 und 103 Anm. 1 mit weiterer Literatur.

<sup>11</sup> So beispielsweise Kolb (1984) 191.

<sup>12</sup> Eck (2004) 311-313.

<sup>13</sup> Wendt (2008) 210 Tab. 8.

<sup>14</sup> Greift man die bei Bossart u.a. (2006) 76 Tab. 1 für Köln, Xanten und Trier gegebenen Daten auf und rechnet sie auf Wendt & Zimmermanns geschätzte Gesamtbevölkerungszahl für das Rheinland im 2.Jh. hoch, liegt der Anteil der Stadtbewohner bei 22-28%.

Gleichwohl kommen, je intensiver man sich mit dem von Wendt und Zimmermann vertretenen Ansatz befasst, weitere Zweifel an der Zuverlässigkeit solcher Schätzungen auf. Einige Gedanken seien hier formuliert: Es ist zu überlegen, inwieweit die Zahl der Bewohner einer *villa rustica* außer von der Größe der bewirtschafteten Fläche auch davon abhing, was im einzelnen dort angebaut wurde, und wie arbeitsintensiv die Feldfrüchte waren. Gleich große, aber unterschiedlich bestellte Anbauflächen können verschieden viele Arbeitskräfte erfordert haben. Mithilfe archäobotanischer und -palynologischer Untersuchungen lassen sich konkrete Vorstellungen der Bodennutzung im gefragten Zeitraum gewinnen.<sup>15</sup> Des Weiteren ist zu erörtern, ob die für ein Landgut errechnete Personenzahl ein arbeitsbedingtes Maximum beschreibt, wie es vermutlich zur Ernte erforderlich gewesen sein dürfte<sup>16</sup>, und ob davon auszugehen ist, dass diese das gesamte Jahr über gleich hoch war, selbst wenn saisonbedingt nur wenig Feldarbeit anfiel.<sup>17</sup> Die Überlegung zielt zugleich auf die Frage, inwieweit Personen auf eine Arbeit wie die Landwirtschaft spezialisiert waren und ausschließlich dieser Tätigkeit nachgingen.<sup>18</sup> Es ist in diesem Zusammenhang die temporäre Beschäftigung von Tagelöhnern zu erörtern, die womöglich nur Teile des Jahres auf dem Feld arbeiteten und ansonsten anderen Gewerben in der Umgebung nachgingen.<sup>19</sup>

Im Blick auf die Bevölkerungsdichte in Städten verweisen Wendt und Zimmermann mit Augusta Praetoria/Aosta selbst auf ein Exempel, bei dem die überbaute Fläche nicht, wie in Augst und Xanten, deren Befunde sie ihren Kalkulationen zugrunde legen, lediglich die Hälfte, sondern 80 % des Siedlungsareals ausmachte.<sup>20</sup> Die archäologische Quellenlage erlaubt es bis dato nicht, Faktoren zu benennen, die für die unterschiedlich starke

<sup>15</sup> Stellvertretend für Hessen und Mainfranken Kreuz (1994/95), Kreuz (2004), Stobbe (2000), Singer (2005), Stobbe (2009); zum Rheinland exemplarisch Knörzer & Gerlach (1999), Meurers-Balke u.a. (1999), Bunnik u.a. (2005), Meurers-Balke & Kalis (2005), Meurers-Balke (2007), Schamuhn & Zerl (2009).

<sup>16</sup> Während der Ernte und Weinlese fanden keine Gerichtsverfahren und Volksversammlungen statt, dazu Rüpkke (2006) 51-52.

<sup>17</sup> Zu jahreszeitlich bedingten Arbeitsabläufen Kreuz (2004) 191-194, konkrete Berechnungen zum Bedarf an Arbeitskräften im Zusammenhang mit Getreideernten bei Kreuz (1994/95) 78-82.

<sup>18</sup> Zur Arbeitsteilung und Spezialisierung von Handwerk und Handel im lateinischen Westen des *imperium Romanum* noch immer von Petrikovits (1981a) und von Petrikovits (1981b) sowie Erb (1982) und Wissemann (1984). Den Blick auf den ostmediterranen Raum eröffnet die Studie von Ruffing (2008).

<sup>19</sup> Zur Lohnarbeit und dem *mercennarius* vgl. die Arbeiten von de Robertis (1961), Nörr (1965), Mrozek (1989) und zuletzt Berrendonner (2007).

<sup>20</sup> Wendt (2008) 206 mit Verweis auf Bossart u.a. (2006) 86-87.

Bebauung von Siedlungsarealen verantwortlich gemacht werden können. Auch Wendt und Zimmermann erkennen, dass “für die meisten urbanen und dörflichen Strukturen in den nordwestlichen Provinzen [...] bisher die notwendigen Angaben zur inneren Gliederung der Überbauung” fehlen, sehen diesen Umstand jedoch nicht als mögliche Fehlerquelle ihres Verfahrens, sondern vielmehr als diesem entgegenkommend.<sup>21</sup> Macht man sich hierzu jedoch weitere Gedanken, muss meines Erachtens die Nutzung der Bauten stärker hinterfragt werden. Es interessiert beispielsweise, welche Handwerke vor Ort gegebenenfalls besonders stark vertreten sind, und welche baulichen Strukturen mit ihnen einhergehen. Inwieweit ist, abgesehen etwa vom Töpferei- oder Färbereigewerbe, dessen Betrieb bestimmte Voraussetzungen benötigt, von regelrechten Gewerbefläche auszugehen, die ansonsten nicht bewohnt waren? Entspricht die Vorstellung, dass man zum Arbeiten den eigenen Wohnbereich verließ, überhaupt kaiserzeitlichen Gegebenheiten, oder sind die Räumlichkeiten, in denen man lebte und arbeitete, nicht vielmehr weitgehend identisch?<sup>22</sup> Welche Folgen haben diese Überlegungen für die Kalkulation einer Einwohnerzahl auf der Grundlage überbauter Siedlungsfläche?

Weiterhin ist zur Beurteilung der Bebauung die Lage der Siedlungen und die Art und Funktion ihres Umfeldes im Blick zu halten: Eine Niederlassung wie Augusta Praetoria/Aosta am Fuß eines Hochgebirgspasses musste andere Anforderungen erfüllen als ein Ort umgeben von gut erreichbarem Agrarland.

Hinsichtlich der Militärpräsenz im kaiserzeitlichen Rheinland, bei der auch die Flotte nicht vergessen werden darf, bleibt die Stärke einzelner Truppeneinheiten zu diskutieren. War diese über die gesamte Zeit ihrer Stationierung zahlenmäßig unverändert an ihrem Standort präsent? Ferner interessiert, in welchem Maße, aus welchen Anlässen und für welche Zeitspannen gegebenenfalls Vexillationen in die hier relevante Region hinzukamen oder auch von dort in andere Gebiete abgezogen wurden.<sup>23</sup>

Dem Aspekt einer wie hier erläuterten Verdichtung und Prüfung der Daten messen Wendt und Zimmermann geringere Bedeutung bei. Vielmehr bewerten sie, festgemacht an den Ergebnissen zur Fundstellendichte im ländlichen Raum, ihre Resultate auf der Basis der zur Verfügung stehenden Daten bereits als sehr zuverlässig und formulieren vor diesem Hintergrund

<sup>21</sup> Wendt (2008) 206.

<sup>22</sup> Zur Werkstatt als “Heim des Handwerkers” im Mittelalter vgl. die illustrative Schilderung von Sennett (2008) 77-112.

<sup>23</sup> Grundlegend zu Vexillationen noch immer Saxer (1967).

die Ergebnisse und Perspektiven ihrer Arbeit: Im Vergleich mit der bandkeramischen Kultur, für die ähnliche Berechnungen im Siedlungsraum auf der Aldenhovener Platte unternommen wurden<sup>24</sup>, sei die Bevölkerungsdichte der römischen Kaiserzeit um das dreißigfache größer geworden. Diesen Befund deuten sie im Sinne einer "Optimierung der Lebensverhältnisse in der staatlich organisierten römischen Gesellschaft".<sup>25</sup> Einige Seiten weiter wird klarer, was damit gemeint sein könnte: "eine intensive Nutzung der Landschaft [...] vor allem [...] die Nutzung der Wälder [als] Brennholz für Kochen, Heizen, Keramik- und Glasherstellung sowie Metallgewinnung und -verarbeitung".<sup>26</sup> Wendt und Zimmermann gehen noch weiter: Hinweise auf einen intensiven Anbau von Getreide in der Region einerseits und die Verwendung von (Bau-)Holz aus dem Schwarzwald andererseits sind die maßgeblichen Faktoren, für das Rheinland am Ende des 2. Jahrhunderts das Bild einer stark entwaldeten Region zu entwerfen.<sup>27</sup> Die Untersuchung, die einen möglichen Zugang zur Abschätzung von Bevölkerungsdichten aufzeigt, zielt damit weit über ihren ursprünglichen Ansatz hinaus auf die Überlegung, was die jeweiligen Zahlen für die Nutzung der betreffenden Landschaft bedeuten.

Diese Frage steht im Folgenden mit Blick auf die Nutzung der Wälder im Mittelpunkt: Lässt sich für das römische Rheinland begründet abschätzen, wozu wie viel Holz benötigt wurde? Welche Aussagen sind auf der Grundlage einerseits einer angenommenen Bevölkerungszahl, andererseits der in den Quellen überlieferten Kenntnis, wofür und in welchen Mengen Holz Verwendung fand sowie konkreter archäologischer Befunde und Funde möglich?

#### FORSCHUNGSANSÄTZE IN HOLZSTUDIEN

Waldbestände gehören zu den natürlichen und erneuerbaren Ressourcen, die den antiken Menschen — wenn auch in unterschiedlicher Menge und Zusammensetzung — in fast allen Landschaften zur Verfügung standen.<sup>28</sup> Sie unterscheiden sich damit von Rohstoffen wie Metallen oder Salz, deren Vorkommen an bestimmte geologische Bedingungen geknüpft ist.

<sup>24</sup> Zimmermann u.a. (2004) 49-79 und Zimmermann u.a. (2009).

<sup>25</sup> Wendt (2008) 214.

<sup>26</sup> Wendt (2008) 219.

<sup>27</sup> Wendt (2008) 214.

<sup>28</sup> Zur Ressourcendefinition und -gliederung Höning (1998) 30-32, Siebert (1983) 2-3.

Diese allgemeine Disponibilität stellt eine notwendige Voraussetzung für großräumige und komparative Betrachtungen zum Umgang mit der Ressource dar. Holz, auf dieses Waldprodukt werden die Überlegungen im Folgenden konzentriert<sup>29</sup>, kam in vielfältiger Weise in unterschiedlichsten Lebensbereichen zum Einsatz. Es ist daher legitim, Beispiele aus anderen mehr oder minder weit entfernten Siedlungsräumen und Nutzungskontexten für die Situation im Rheinland heranzuziehen.

Erste systematische und insbesondere aus den literarischen Quellen gespeiste Zusammenstellungen, wozu Holz in der Antike verwendet wurde, haben August Seidensticker im Handbuch *Waldgeschichte des Alterthums* und Julius Trubrig in der Abhandlung über *Die Waldwirthschaft der Römer* im ausgehenden 19. Jahrhundert vorgelegt.<sup>30</sup> Die Dendrochronologie, die naturwissenschaftliche Methode zur Altersbestimmung von Holz, wurde nur wenige Jahre später in den USA begründet. In Europa etablierte sie sich erst knapp vier Jahrzehnte später. Mit ihrer Entwicklung ging eine enorme Vermehrung entsprechender Daten einher, die Wachstumsregionen wie Baumgattungen gleichermaßen berücksichtigt und heute einerseits mehr und mehr chronologisch wie topographisch überlappende Datierungsfixpunkte zur Verfügung stellt, andererseits zunehmend bisher erst wenig beachtete Landschaftsräume und Bewuchstypen in die Auswertungen einbezieht.<sup>31</sup> Die Dokumentation und Interpretation von Bearbeitungs- und Nutzungsspuren rückte seit den 1960er Jahren zusätzlich vermehrt in den Mittelpunkt des Interesses am Bau- und Werkstoff Holz.<sup>32</sup> Interdisziplinäre, insbesondere experimentelle und technikorientierte Zugänge, wie sie zuletzt im Rahmen der Oldenburger Tagung und Sonderausstellung "Holz-Kultur von der Urzeit bis in die Zukunft" und dem Grazer Symposium zu Holz in der Antike vorgestellt wurden, stecken weitere methodische Eckpunkte der Beschäftigung mit Holz ab.<sup>33</sup> Eine erste breit angelegte historische

<sup>29</sup> Weitere Waldprodukte waren Baumfrüchte, -rinde, -bast und -säfte wie Balsam, Gummi und Harz. Ferner fanden Laub und Baumschwämme Verwendung. Der Wald diente den in einer Region jeweils üblichen Nutztieren zur Waldweide. Zu diesen Waldnutzungen vgl. die Quellenübersicht bei Seidensticker (1886a) 319-340 und Seidensticker (1886b) 329-363, ferner Trubrig (1888) 49-53 sowie vor allem 61-69, jüngst auch Willerding (2006) 108-117.

<sup>30</sup> Seidensticker (1886a), Seidensticker (1886b), Trubrig (1888).

<sup>31</sup> Vgl. zur süddeutschen Eichenchronologie Becker (1993) und Spurk u.a. (1998), zur präborealen Kiefernchronologie Grudd u.a. (2002) und Eronen u.a. (2002) sowie zur ostalpinen Zirbenchronologie Nicolussi u.a. (2001/02), hier auch ein kurzer Forschungsabriß.

<sup>32</sup> Einen Überblick über Dendrochronologie und -archäologie gibt Neyses (1986), vgl. auch Grabner (2011).

<sup>33</sup> Fansa & Vorlauf (2007a) und Fansa & Vorlauf (2007b); Scherrer (2011).



Auseinandersetzung jüngerer Datums stellt die noch immer aktuelle Studie *Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean World* von Russell Meiggs dar, der dabei von seinen Erfahrungen als verantwortlicher Offizier für die heimische Holzproduktion im Versorgungsministerium während der Kriegsjahre profitierte.<sup>34</sup> Sie gab die Strukturen vor, innerhalb derer in den letzten zehn Jahren auch im deutschsprachigen Raum entsprechende Arbeiten folgten. Marcus Nenninger fokussiert in seiner 2001 erschienenen Dissertation *Die Römer und der Wald* auf die römischen Nordwestprovinzen, die drei Jahre später publizierte Studie von Hans-Günter Buchholz stellt die Nutzung des Werkstoffs Holz im östlichen Mittelmeerraum in den Vordergrund.<sup>35</sup> Die genannten Untersuchungen stehen stellvertretend für die Tendenz, neben ethnologischen Ansätzen archäologisches Quellenmaterial in die historische Argumentation einzubeziehen.

Die Ergebnisse dieser exemplarisch umrissenen Studien stellen eine gute Grundlage dar, anhand einer spezifischen Region der Frage nachzugehen, wie viel Holz die Bewohner eines Siedlungsraumes benötigten und verbrauchten. Das kaiserzeitliche Rheinland bietet sich für einen derartigen Versuch nicht nur vor dem Hintergrund der diesen Ausführungen zugrunde liegenden Arbeit von Wendt und Zimmermann zur Bevölkerungsdichte an. Hinzu kommt vielmehr die vergleichsweise gute Kenntnis der wirtschaftlichen Strukturen dieses Raumes. In den vergangenen Jahren wurden einerseits zahlreiche Einzeluntersuchungen zu lokalen Gewerben vorgelegt, für die Holz in großer Verfügbarkeit elementare Voraussetzung war, beispielsweise die Studie zur Kölner Keramikproduktion, Abhandlungen zu den Glasöfen im Hambacher Forst oder die Beobachtungen zu vielerorts in der Region — der Nordeifel, dem Raum Aachen-Stolberg, dem unteren Ahrtal und dem rechtsrheinischen Bergischen Land — gewonnenen Blei.<sup>36</sup> Andererseits legte Peter Rothenhöfer im Jahr 2005 für das südliche Niedergermanien erstmals eine Synthese zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte eines Siedlungsraumes vor. Sie zeichnet sich dadurch aus, dass die Diskussion maßgeblich auf der Basis archäologischer Befunde und Funde geführt wird und neben die qualitative Darstellung der wirtschaftlichen Vorgänge zahlreiche quantitative Überlegungen zum Bedarf an Ressourcen und Produktionsumfängen treten.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Meiggs (1982).

<sup>35</sup> Nenninger (2001), Herz (2001), Buchholz (2004).

<sup>36</sup> Höpken (2005), Seibel (1998) 87-101, Gaitzsch u.a. (2000), Rothenhöfer (2005) 88-94.

<sup>37</sup> Rothenhöfer (2005).



Eine dendrochronologische und archäologische Studie zu Holz und Holzwirtschaft am Niederrhein in römischer Zeit ist derzeit Gegenstand der Dissertation von Ronald Visser an der Universität Amsterdam.<sup>38</sup>

## HOLZNUTZUNG

Generell lassen sich im Blick auf die Verwendung von Holz Bauholz, Nutzholz und Brennholz unterscheiden. Die drei Kategorien bilden eine gute Gliederung, um eine Vorstellung zu gewinnen, wofür in der römischen Kaiserzeit in welchem Maße Holz verwandt wurde. Dabei wird keine systematische, umfassende Quellen- oder Literatursammlung angestrebt. Vielmehr liegt der Schwerpunkt auf der Überlieferung von Holz in archäologischen Befunden und Funden. Ausdrücklich steht die Frage nach solchen Kontexten im Vordergrund, die Mengenberechnungen erlauben: Welche Beispiele für solche Kalkulationen lassen sich anhand von Grabungsbeobachtungen, experimentellen Versuchen und Rekonstruktionen anführen? Inwieweit können derartige Beobachtungen auf die Gegebenheiten im Rheinland übertragen und im Blick auf die Ausgangsfrage nach der Menge der betreffenden Ressourcen, die eine dortige Bevölkerung im 2. Jahrhundert benötigte, hochgerechnet werden?

### 1. Bauholz

In den Nordwestprovinzen des *imperium Romanum* ist in archäologischen Befunden ab dem mittleren bis späten 1. Jahrhundert verstärkt die Entwicklung zu beobachten, dass die Gründungskonstruktionen von Bauten statt in Holz vornehmlich in Stein ausgeführt wurden. Gleichwohl verschwindet Holz als Baustoff damit nicht, sondern bleibt im Aufgehenden für Fachwerk- und Dachstuhlkonstruktionen sowie Eindeckungen unentbehrlich.<sup>39</sup> Ebenso ist Holz auch weiterhin das Baumaterial für Funktionsbauten wie Speicher, Stallungen und Schuppen, die hauptsächlich in ländlichen Kontexten zu suchen sind.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Visser (2010) 11 und 22.

<sup>39</sup> Vgl. die Beobachtungen in Augst bei Schwarz (2004) 307 oder an Wohnhäusern in Rätien bei Ertel (2008). Eindringlich sind die Befunde vom Auerberg, wo ab vespasianischer Zeit Holzbauten zwar teilweise in Stein ersetzt wurden, generell aber bis ins 3. Jh. nachweisbar sind, vgl. Weber (2001). Zur Situation in Britannien Hanson (1978) 169-170. Im Jahr 2007 fand in München ein Kolloquium zu Holztragwerken der Antike statt, in dem insbesondere Dachkonstruktionen diskutiert wurden, vgl. von Kienlin (2011). Zur verzierten Holzbalkendecke im kaiserzeitlichen Hanghaus 2 von Ephesos Thür (2011) 197-205.

<sup>40</sup> Zu römischen Gutshöfen in reiner Holzbautechnik im Areal der Münchner Schotterebene Pietsch (2006). Zu entsprechenden Vorratsbauten in militärischen Kontexten

Bedarfsberechnungen in baulichem Kontext wurden zuletzt gerade im Rheinland im Zusammenhang mit Rekonstruktionen innerhalb der Colonia Ulpia Traiana durchgeführt. Für die Wiedererrichtung eines zweigeschossigen Wohnhauses mit rückwärtigem eingeschossigem Schuppen von zusammen 236 m<sup>2</sup> Nutz- und Wohnfläche wurden annähernd 45 m<sup>3</sup> Holz verbaut. Dazu kommen 218 m<sup>2</sup> Bodendielen von 6 cm Stärke. Nicht kalkuliert sind dabei eine mögliche Schindeleindeckung, Türen, Fenster und Fensterläden, hölzerne Trennwände und Mobiliar.<sup>41</sup>

Ebenfalls unquantifiziert und meines Wissens bisher in Rekonstruktionen und Experimenten überhaupt nicht einbezogen, ist der Umfang von Baustelleninstallationen, die ebenfalls weitgehend aus Holz bestanden. Dazu zählen Lastkräne, wie sie Vitruv detailliert beschreibt und wozu das bekannte Relief am Grabmonument der Haterier in Rom aus dem 1. Viertel des 2. Jahrhunderts fast als Illustration verstanden werden kann<sup>42</sup>, ferner Gerüste und Verschalungen. Ein seltenes und umso eindrucklicheres Beispiel für letztgenannte Nutzung haben die Grabungen am Kurt-Hackenberg-Platz im Zuge der Arbeiten für die Kölner Nord-Süd-Stadtbahn geliefert. Dort kamen, wie schon in den Jahrzehnten zuvor beim Bau der Domgarage und bei Kanalgrabungen beobachtet, am Fundament der Stadtmauer in situ verbliebene Schaltafeln zu Tage. Entsprechend den Holzanalysen bestanden sie aus Schwarzwälder Tannen, die im Jahr 89 n.Chr. gefällt und ins Rheinland gebracht worden waren.<sup>43</sup>

Zur Stabilisierung von Bauten in feuchtem Milieu errichtete man diese auf tief gründenden Holzpfehlern.<sup>44</sup> In Mogontiacum/Mainz war die Thermenanlage am rheinnahen Tritonplatz entsprechend fundamentierte. Ihre Erbauung fällt nach Dendrodaten in respektive nach das Jahr 33 n.Chr.<sup>45</sup> Auch mehr als 200 Jahre später sind vergleichbare Maßnahmen vor Ort zu beobachten. Mitte des 3. Jahrhunderts umgab man Mainz mit einer Stadtmauer und gründete sie im Bereich von Rheinufer und Bleichenviertel

Manning (1975) mit Blick auf das römische Britannien. Eine jüngste, diachrone Betrachtung von Speicherbauten gibt Schmaedecke (2002).

<sup>41</sup> Freundliche Auskunft Peter Kienzle, Archäologischer Park Xanten, vom 15. Februar 2011. Die Angaben beziehen sich auf den ersten Bauabschnitt der Wohnhaus-Rekonstruktion. Zur Verwendung von Holz als Bodenbelag, zur Dachkonstruktion und -eindeckung sowie zur Deckengestaltung Ulrich (2007) 111-177.

<sup>42</sup> Vitr. 10.2; zum Grabmonument der Haterier zuletzt umfassend Sinn & Freyberger (1996) 51-59 mit Taf. 11-16 zum betreffenden Relief, zu antiken Kränen und Hebewerken Landels (1989) 101-117.

<sup>43</sup> Schmidt (2010) 329-330.

<sup>44</sup> Historisch allgemein zu Pfahlgründungen Bormann (1992) zur römischen Antike Ulrich (2007) 72-89.

<sup>45</sup> Witteyer (1998) 1042.

ebenfalls auf einem Holzrost. Alexander Heising hat hierfür einen Bedarf von ungefähr 13.300 Eichen-Pfählen errechnet, das entspricht in etwa 2.000 Bäumen eines Alters von 60-80 Jahren.<sup>46</sup> In Arelate/Arles stabilisierte man die 20.000 Besucher fassende Circusanlage nahe dem Rhôneufer mit Holzpfeilern einer Länge von 2,5-3 m. Während der Grabungen und auf der Basis der Auswertung der Hölzer konnte beobachtet werden, dass diese entsprechend ihren Eigenschaften spezifisch eingesetzt wurden: Während Fassade und Podiumsmauer über Nadelhölzern errichtet wurden, fundamentierte man Gebäudepartien, die wie die Gewölbeauflagen hohem Druck ausgesetzt waren, mit Eichenpfählen. Die ermittelten Fälldaten datieren den Bau in die Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts. Claude Sintès kalkuliert für die Baumaßnahme einen Bedarf von zirka 25.000 Bäumen und schließt auf eine Rodungsfläche von 200 ha Wald.<sup>47</sup>

Steinerne Brückenpfeiler standen gleichermaßen auf Pfahlrosten, die innerhalb hölzerner Spundwände in das Flussbett getrieben wurden. Aussagekräftige Hinterlassenschaften sind seit langem vom Übergang über die Mosel bei Trier sowie aus dem Rhein bei Koblenz und Mainz bekannt.<sup>48</sup> Dendrodaten weisen auf eine Bauzeit der Moselbrücke um das Jahr 17 v.Chr. Ihre Pfeiler gründeten auf Holzrosten, dicht nebeneinander gesetzten Holzpfeilern von etwa 19×10 m. Die geborgenen Exemplare hatten eine Länge von 1-2,5 m und einen Durchmesser von 25-45 cm. Heinz Cüppers kalkuliert jeden Pfahlrost pauschal mit 230 entsprechenden Holzpfeilern. Für die gesamte Brücke wurden demnach an die 2.000 Eichenpfähle in den Grund gerammt. Mehr als doppelt so lang war die Pfahlrostbrücke über den Rhein bei Mainz. Früheste Daten weisen hier auf Bauaktivitäten seit dem Jahr 27 n.Chr. Um 1880 wurde einer der Roste mit den in großen Teilen geborgenen Pfeilern im Mainzer Schlosshof in Originalgröße rekonstruiert. Das erlaubt es, den Gesamtbedarf an Eichenstämmen für die Fundamentierung der Mainzer Rheinbrücke auf mindestens 1.000 Exemplare zu schätzen.

Die gute Erhaltung von Holz in feuchtem Grund hat wiederholt zu ufernahen Befundbeobachtungen geführt, welche in den Kontext von Hafenanlagen gestellt werden können. Beeindruckende Überreste von Kaianlagen, Werfteinrichtungen und Hinweise auf Entladekräne sind unter anderem aus

<sup>46</sup> Heising (2008) 169-173 mit Anm. 677.

<sup>47</sup> Sintès (2008) 206-209 Für den Hinweis danke ich Rudolf Haensch, München.

<sup>48</sup> Zum folgenden Cüppers (1969) 138-140 und zuletzt Cüppers (2001), Bauer (2007) 278-279. Anhand der Koblenzer Rheinbrücke errechnet Mensching (1981) modellhaft Arbeitsablauf und -aufwand der Pfahlsetzung; zur Konstruktion der Pfahljochbrücke Schieferdecker (1981).

Köln, Xanten, Londinium/London, Novae/Staklen an der Unteren Donau oder Caesarea Maritima/Keisarija im östlichen Mittelmeer vorgelegt worden.<sup>49</sup> Verallgemeinernde Quantifizierungen fallen in diesen Zusammenhängen schwer, weil in modernen Siedlungsarealen selten flächig Aufschlüsse möglich sind, anhand derer die Ausmaße vermuteter Landeplätze erfasst werden können. Vielmehr machen die oft nur kleinen Grabungsschnitte Interpretationen zeitlicher wie funktionaler Bezüge, und damit die Grundlagen von Kalkulationen, problematisch.<sup>50</sup>

Prügelwege ermöglichten das Durchqueren von sumpfigem Gelände. Einen außerordentlichen Befund haben die Grabungen an der Via Claudia Augusta zu Beginn der 1990er Jahre bei Lermoos in Tirol freigelegt. Das Moor zwischen Biberwier und Lermoos wurde erstmals kurz vor der Mitte des 1. Jahrhunderts mit einer 7 m breiten Straßentrasse durchzogen. Dazu verwendete man Bäume, die im Herbst und Winter 45/46 n.Chr. geschlagen und je nach Gelände als Rundhölzer oder halbierte Stämme verlegt wurden. Kalkuliert man die betreffende Strecke von 1,5 km allein mit Halbstämmen, wurden dafür ungefähr 1.700 m<sup>3</sup> Holz benötigt.<sup>51</sup>

Ähnliche Befunde können in kleineren Dimensionen auch im römischen Rheinland beobachtet werden. Bei Grabungen am Kölner Waidmarkt kamen im Jahr 2008 die Reste eines Knüppeldamms aus Eichen- und Buchenstämmen zu Tage. Sie gehören zu einer Nebenstraße, die von Westen an die parallel zum Rhein verlaufende Ferntrasse heranführte, und am Waidmarkt eine alte Bachrinne querte. Den Fälldaten der Eichenhölzer zufolge wurde das Wegstück in tiberischer Zeit hergerichtet.<sup>52</sup>

Bauholz spielte natürlich auch in militärischen Kontexten eine wichtige Rolle.<sup>53</sup> Hat man die germanischen Provinzen vor Augen, kommt dabei primär der obergermanisch-rätische Limes in den Sinn, der ab dem frühen 2. Jahrhundert als Holzpalisade mit bis zu 3 m hoch aufragenden Eichenstämmen ausgebaut wurde. Annähernd 100 km des 550 km langen Grenzverlaufs entfallen auf das Gebiet, für das Wendt und Zimmermann ihre Bevölkerungsstudie entwickelt haben. Nimmt man für die Strecke

<sup>49</sup> Schmidt (2005), Schmidt (2010) 330, Trier (2010), Dietmar & Trier (2006) 32-34, Leih (2008), Milne (1985) 55-67, Brigham (1990), Sarnowski (1996) 198, Votruba (2007).

<sup>50</sup> Als Beispiel sei auf die Bewertung der archäologischen Befunde zur Rheinufer-topographie in Mainz verwiesen, die Martin-Kilcher & Witteyer (1998/99) 83-102 zusammengestellt haben.

<sup>51</sup> Nicolussi (1998).

<sup>52</sup> Trier (2010) 237-238.

<sup>53</sup> Zum Holzbedarf antiker Truppen allgemein Meiggs (1982) 154-187; allgemein jetzt Löffl (2011) und im Blick auf das Rheindelta van Rijn (2011).

einmal 3 m hohe und 20 cm dicke Pfähle an, wäre ein Bauholz-Volumen von mindestens 38.000 m<sup>3</sup> Eichenholz erforderlich gewesen.<sup>54</sup> Die Kalkulation hängt maßgeblich an Faktoren wie der Fundamenttiefe, der Pfahllänge oder der Stammdicke, ferner der Frage, ob Rundhölzer oder Halbstämme Verwendung fanden.<sup>55</sup> Ändert man in der Berechnung nur allein je eine dieser Einflussgrößen, führt das zu deutlich anderen Ergebnissen: bei der Annahme durchgängig halbmastiger Stämme zu 19.000 m<sup>3</sup>, bei einer Länge von 4 m zu 50.000 m<sup>3</sup> und bei einer Kalkulation mit 30 cm dicken Pfählen zu 85.000 m<sup>3</sup>.<sup>56</sup>

Bereits 1978 publizierte William Hanson Schätzungen für den Holzbedarf im militärischen Bereich. Orientiert an den Befunden der Anlage von Pen Llŷstyn in Gwynedd/Wales, errechnete er, dass für Umwehrung, Türme und Innengebäude eines 4 acre großen holzgedeckten Lagers ungefähr 22.000 cft Holz benötigt wurden.<sup>57</sup> Metrisch ausgedrückt, bedeutet das für ein 1,6 ha umfassendes Kohortenkastell für 500 Infanteristen ein Volumen von etwa 623 m<sup>3</sup> Holz.<sup>58</sup> Zwei Jahrzehnte nach den für ihre Zeit singulären Arbeiten von William Hanson wurden ähnliche Studien wiederum von der britischen Forschung vorgelegt: Elisabeth Shirley befasste sich detailliert mit Material- und Arbeitsvolumina, die notwendig waren, um ein 20 ha großes Legionslager zu errichten.<sup>59</sup> Orientiert an den Befunden von Pinnata Castra/Inchtuthil kalkuliert sie einen Bauholzbedarf von etwa 16.000 m<sup>3</sup>. Für kaiserzeitliche Militäranlagen im Gebiet des römischen Deutschland wurden bisher keine entsprechenden Überlegungen angestellt. Mit der Aufnahme des Limes in die UNESCO-Welterbeliste gehen seit einigen Jahren Bemühungen zu

<sup>54</sup> Volumenberechnung für einen Einzelpfahl  $\pi \times r^2 \times h = 0,38 \text{ m}^3$ , hochgerechnet auf 100 km.

<sup>55</sup> Zu entsprechenden Beobachtungen vgl. Czysz & Herzig (2008a).

<sup>56</sup> Nenninger (2001) 182-183 Anm. 1217 führt Kalkulationen mit 15 cm starken Pfählen durch und schätzt den Bedarf für die durch Hessen verlaufende 150 km lange Limesstrecke auf 300.000-450.000 Bäume.

<sup>57</sup> Hanson (1978) 297-298 mit Anm. 50, vgl. auch Hanson & Macinnes (1981) und besonders Hanson (1982) mit detaillierten, baubezogenen Aufschlüsselungen von Materialvolumina.

<sup>58</sup> Der angloamerikanische "acre" entspricht im metrischen System 4050 m<sup>2</sup>, 1 cft (cubic foot/Kubikfuß) 0,028 m<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>59</sup> Shirley (2000) sowie Shirley (2001) 49-73 und 144-145 die Bilanz. Eine überblickhafte Aufzählung von Holzbedarf in militärischem Kontext gibt McCarthy (1986), speziell mit Blick auf das Heer in den Provinzen des griechischen Ostens Kissel (1995) 196-207. Die Befunde der Ausgrabungen im Areal des Militärlagers von Albaniana/Alphen aan den Rijn, illustrieren eindrücklich, wofür Holz insbesondere in feuchten Arealen verwendet wurden, dazu Polak u.a. (2004) 38-127.

seinem Schutz, seiner Erforschung und touristischen Präsentation einher. In diesem Zusammenhang stehen Rekonstruktionen, die unter experimentalarchäologischen Gesichtspunkten und vor dem Hintergrund der Frage nach Material- und Arbeitsaufwand verfolgt werden. In den kommenden Jahren ist mit den derzeit laufenden Wiederaufbauten des Steinturns bei Limeshain im Wetteraukreis (Hessen) sowie des Kleinkastells und Wachtturns Pohl im Rhein-Lahn-Kreis (Rheinland-Pfalz) mit entsprechendem Daten- und Kenntniszuwachs zu rechnen.<sup>60</sup>

In den Vici der Kastelle Zugmantel, Arnsburg, Dambach und Quintana/Künzing sind in den vergangenen Jahren Spuren großer hölzerner Rundbauten entdeckt worden. Die Forschung interpretiert sie im Sinne von Amphitheatern und Plätzen für militärische Übungen. Derartige Anlagen können einerseits standardmäßig zur Ausstattung eines Lagerdorfs gehört haben, andererseits zu bestimmten Anlässen wie etwa einem Besuch eines Kaisers vergleichsweise rasch errichtet oder erneuert worden sein. Im Falle von Künzing weist das Fundmaterial auf eine Bauzeit in der ersten Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts. Gerhard Waldherr erörtert vor diesem Hintergrund die Möglichkeit, den Bau mit der Anwesenheit des Hadrian in Rätien und an der Donaugrenze im Jahr 122 n.Chr. zu verbinden. Das Theater in Künzing hatte lediglich zwei bis drei Jahrzehnte Bestand, danach wurde es teilweise systematisch demontiert. Demzufolge waren die verbauten Hölzer weiterhin nutzbar, zumindest als Feuerholz taugten sie noch.<sup>61</sup>

## 2. Nutzholz

Neben Baumaterial ist Holz Werkstoff für Geräte und Gegenstände unterschiedlichster Verwendung. Zu denken ist zunächst an Wagen und Schiffe. Von römischen Landfahrzeugen findet man in archäologischen Kontexten nur selten Holzreste. Teile zweier Exemplare sind in der Villa Arianna bei Stabiae/Castellammare di Stabia, die beim Vesuviusausbruch des Jahres 79 n.Chr. verschüttet wurde, erhalten geblieben.<sup>62</sup> Häufiger trifft man auf die Überreste ihrer Metallbestandteile, während Reliefs und

<sup>60</sup> Den Limeskoordinatoren der Länder Hessen, Rheinland-Pfalz und Baden-Württemberg, Thomas Becker, Jens Dolata und Stephan Bender danke ich für entsprechende Auskünfte.

<sup>61</sup> Künzing: Schmotz (2006) und Waldherr (2006); Arnsburg: Bender (2004), Bender (2005), von Kaenel & Wenzel (2010) 117; zusammenfassend Sommer (2009). Zum hölzernen Arenaboden im Colosseum: Beste (2011) 259-271.

<sup>62</sup> Miniero (1987), zum Wagenbau allgemein Buchholz (2004) 97-104, zu römischen Reisewagen Röring (1983). Überreste und Hinweise auf Räder diskutiert Ulrich (2007) 202-212.

Mosaiken über Aussehen und Nutzung der Wagen informieren. Anhand dieser Quellen sind wiederholt Rekonstruktionen gefertigt worden. Für den gut dokumentierten Augster Nachbau eines kaiserzeitlichen Reisewagens, der an Funden aus Ungarn und Neupotz orientiert ist, erfolgten zeitliche Aufwandsberechnungen.<sup>63</sup> Im Sinne der Fragestellung verwertbare Daten zum Umfang des Baumaterials wurden nicht erhoben.

Transportschiffe und insbesondere die römische Flotte benötigten unzweifelhaft große Holzmenen.<sup>64</sup> Unterwasserfunde im Mittelmeerraum und den Flüssen der Nordwestprovinzen vermitteln eine Vorstellung von der Dichte des kaiserzeitlichen Wasserverkehrs.<sup>65</sup> Trotz intensiver unterwasserarchäologischer und schiffsbautechnischer Forschung, die in Publikationen stets mit maßstäblichen Rekonstruktionen einhergeht, spielt die Ermittlung des Bedarfs an Holz bis dato — zumindest im Sinne der hier gestellten Frage — keine Rolle. Quantitative Überlegungen konzentrieren sich in diesem Forschungsfeld bislang auf das Ladevolumen der Schiffe. Beim Holz interessiert, welche Gattungen in welchem konstruktiven Zusammenhang Verwendung fanden, und sein Beitrag zur Datierung.<sup>66</sup>

Aus Holz konnten Kanäle, Latrinen- und Brunnenfassungen bestehen.<sup>67</sup> Die Funktion der beiden letztgenannten übernahmen in den Nordwestprovinzen häufig leere Fässer. Hatten sie zuvor dem Transport von Produkten gedient, fanden sie so oftmals eine sekundäre Verwendung.<sup>68</sup> Mit 75 Brunnen, von denen die meisten als Fassbrunnen gearbeitet waren, beeindruckt noch immer besonders der Befund im frühkaiserzeitlichen Militärlager von Oberaden, wenngleich entsprechende Beobachtungen seit langem auch von vielen anderen Orten bekannt sind.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Haser & Maise (2003).

<sup>64</sup> Im Überblick Meiggs (1982) 116-153.

<sup>65</sup> Zusammenfassend Parker (1992) und Jurišić (2000) ferner insbesondere die Publikationsreihen *Archaeonautica*, *Cahiers d'Archéologie Subaquatique*, *Bilan scientifique DRASSM* und *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*.

<sup>66</sup> Stellvertretend Marlier (2008) und Carre & Roman (2008), zu den Fragestellungen beim Holz Guibal & Pomey (1998), Giachi u.a. (2000).

<sup>67</sup> Jauch (1997) exemplarisch zur Konstruktion einer hölzernen Kanalisation; instruktive Beispiele aus der Colonia Ulpia Traiana und Carnuntum bei Hübner (2008) und Konecny (2011) 242-246.

<sup>68</sup> Grundlegend zu Fässern in den Nordwestprovinzen Marlière (2002), im Ausblick auf das 1. Jt. n.Chr. Potthoff (2005), zuletzt Tamerl (2011).

<sup>69</sup> Oberaden: Galsterer (1992), Kühlborn (1990) 182, von Schnurbein (1975) 140; weitere Beispiele aus Vitodurum/Oberwinterthur: Clerici (1983); Castra Regina/Regensburg: Ulbert (1959); Mainz: Bauer (2002) 212-219; Saalburg: Bauer (2005); Xanten: Groeneveld (1993), Leih (2008) 460-464.



In Bergwerken diente Grubenbauholz zur Stabilisierung der unterirdischen Gänge und Abbauräume, in die Tiefe gelangte man über hölzerne Stiegen und Leitern.<sup>70</sup> Im landwirtschaftlichen Bereich bestanden Geräte zum Pflügen und Dreschen, Keltern oder Pressen zu großen Teilen aus Holz, ferner Pflöcke und Zäune.<sup>71</sup> Werkzeugstiele waren ebenso aus Holz wie Türen, Fensterrahmen und -sprossen, Fensterläden, Mobiliar<sup>72</sup>, Geräte und Geschirr. In denen vergangenen Jahren sind mehr und mehr solcher Objekte vielerorts in den römischen Nordwestprovinzen identifiziert und vorgelegt worden. Dabei ergänzt die Vielfalt an hölzernen Behältnissen und Verschlüssen unser Bild der kaiserzeitlichen Alltagswelt, das ansonsten fast ausschließlich von den nahezu unvergänglichen keramischen Hinterlassenschaften geprägt ist. Instrumente und figürliche Schnitzwerke beleben die Vorstellung von Unterhaltung, Kunst und religiösen Handelns. Mit Kämmen und Schuhsohlen kommt man dem antiken Menschen schließlich bis auf die Haut nahe.<sup>73</sup>

Die Bedeutung von Holz als Schreibstoff lässt sich nur annähernd erfassen.<sup>74</sup> In großer Zahl, Elizabeth Meyer beziffert sie mit mindestens 1.070 Exemplaren, sind *tabulae*/Holztäfelchen vor allem aus den Goldbergwerken von Alburnus maior/Goldbach in Dakien, den Vesuvstädten, dem Schutthügel des Legionslagers Vindonissa/Windisch und Ausgrabungen

<sup>70</sup> Im Überblick Buchholz (2004) 67-79. Besonders ausgeprägt sind entsprechende Beobachtungen zum bronzezeitlichen Salzbergbau in Hallstatt, dazu Kern u.a. (2008) 48-81, zur Holznutzung speziell Klein (2006).

<sup>71</sup> Philologische und bildliche Quellen zu antiken Bauerngeräten diskutiert Christmann (1985).

<sup>72</sup> Mols (1999), Ulrich (2007) 178-201 und 223-227. Meiggs (1982) 279-299 erörtert, welche Hölzer vor allem für den Bau von Möbeln verwendet wurden. Abbildungen von Möbelleisten und womöglich einem Fensterladen aus dem römischen Baden-Württemberg bei Nenninger (2005) 389-392.

<sup>73</sup> Die Literatur zu den genannten Bereichen und entsprechenden Funden ist in den vergangenen Jahren enorm gewachsen. Die folgenden Zitate liefern Beispiele für einzelne besonders fundreiche und in jüngerer Zeit gut vorgelegte Inventare. Köln: Tegtmeier (2004), die römischen Hölzer aus der Kölner U-Bahn-Grabung werden gegenwärtig am Labor für Dendrobotanik des Instituts für Ur- und Frühgeschichte der Universität zu Köln bearbeitet; Saalburg: Baatz (1998); Augst: Riha (2001) Schoch (1989); Vindonissa/Windisch: Fellmann (2009); Oberwinterthur und Tasgetium/Eschenz: Jauch & Zollinger (2010), Brem & Leuzinger (2005), Hedinger & Leuzinger (2003), Fellmann (1991), Clerici (1983); Britannien und allgemeiner Überblick Pugsley (2003). Zu Holzgeräten im Textilhandwerk Gostenčnik (2011), zu Holzfundten/-votiven im Kontext von Quellen – Chamalière, Source de la Seine, Dambach – Dumontet & Romeuf (1980), Deyts (1983), Romeuf (1986), Czys (2008), Czys (2009), Czys (2010) 82-85. Die mit der Holzgewinnung und Verarbeitung beschäftigten Berufsgruppen hat zuletzt Herz (2011) zusammengestellt.

<sup>74</sup> Eck (1997), Eck (1998), Eck (2007).



seit den 1970er Jahren im britischen Vindolanda/Chesterholm bekannt. Sie enthalten vornehmlich Verträge, Quittungen und private Korrespondenzen.<sup>75</sup> Amtliche Bekanntmachungen oder Listen, wie sie temporär in den Archiven der Städte auf Holztafeln angeschrieben wurden, kennen wir über parallel oder später in anderem Material ausgeführte Dokumentationen. Das gilt beispielsweise für die *tabulae albi professionum quibus liberi nati sunt*, die Meldung neugeborener Kinder im Besitz römischen Bürgerrechtes vor dem Magistrat. Sie wurden in Rom am *Aerarium Saturni*, in den Provinzen am *tabularium publicum* des Statthalters auf Holztafeln angeschlagen und ebendort für eine gewisse Zeit aufbewahrt. Die dauerhafte, Platz sparende und handliche Dokumentation erfolgte in Form eines *calendarium*.<sup>76</sup>

Schließlich ist in militärischem Kontext an die Verwendung von Holz zur Fertigung von Schanzpfählen, Kampf- und Übungswaffen, von Schilden, Fußangeln oder Katapulten zu denken.<sup>77</sup> Die Legionen waren mit je 55 Pfeilgeschützen und 10 schweren Steinwerfern ausgerüstet. Anhand verschiedentlich gefundener Überreste, insbesondere der in die 1. Hälfte des 2. vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts datierenden Spannbuchsen und -bolzen aus Emporiae/Ampurias, werden in der Forschung Katapulte modellhaft rekonstruiert. Dietwulf Baatz schätzt das dafür nötige Holz auf jeweils 40–45 kg. Etwa die fünfzigfache Menge dürfte für den Bau eines *onager* notwendig gewesen sein, mit dem schwere Steinkugeln katapultiert wurden.<sup>78</sup>

### 3. Brennholz

Der dritte und neben der Verwendung am Bau größte Anwendungsbereich von Holz ergab sich aus seiner Funktion als Heiz- und Brennmaterial. Kochen, Backen, Räuchern und das Beheizen von Wohn- und Baderäumen funktionierten mit dieser Energiequelle, ebenso die Verbrennung der Toten in der Brandbestattung. In gewerblicher Nutzung wurde Holz — teils auch in Form von Holzkohle — in großen Mengen

<sup>75</sup> Im Überblick Marichal (1992), jüngst Meyer (2004) 21–43, 125–215 zur Überlieferung in Italien und den Provinzen; einführend zu Vindolanda/Chesterholm Thomas (1992), Bowman & Thomas (1983), Bowman & Thomas (1994), Tomlin (1998), Bowman & Thomas (2003) und die Online-Datenbank <http://vindolanda.csad.ox.ac.uk/>.

<sup>76</sup> Schulz (1942) 87–91, Meyer (2004) 24–36.

<sup>77</sup> Zur Versorgung des Heeres mit Waffen und Ausrüstung allgemein Herz (2010), zur Konstruktion und Entwicklung von Geschützen Schramm (1918), zu Schanzpfählen Städele (2002).

<sup>78</sup> Baatz (1966), Baatz (1980). Für die Abschätzungen des Holzbedarfs danke ich Dietwulf Baatz, Darmstadt.

zur Befeuerung von Töpfer- und Glasöfen benötigt, ferner zum Kalkbrennen, zur Gewinnung und Verarbeitung von Metallen, zum Räuchern und Backen.

Experimentalarchäologische Studien, aus denen Anhaltspunkte für den Verbrauch von Brennholz zu gewinnen sind, finden bereits seit mehr als 50 Jahren insbesondere im Zusammenhang mit Heizversuchen in rekonstruierten römischen Thermen und vor dem Hintergrund theoretischer Berechnungen statt.<sup>79</sup> Bei der Durchsicht der betreffenden Studien ist festzuhalten, dass die Ergebnisse von einer Vielzahl Faktoren abhängen: insbesondere vom Volumen der Öfen, der Größe der zu beheizenden Räume, möglichen Fenstern, der Außentemperatur sowie den Eigenschaften des Brennholzes. In der Saalburg wurde im März 1976 bei  $-3^{\circ}\text{C}$  Außentemperatur die Aufheizung eines  $24\text{ m}^3$  großen Raumes begonnen. Für den sechstägigen Versuch, bei dem die Raumtemperatur ab dem zweiten Tag konstant über  $18^{\circ}\text{C}$  lag, wurden insgesamt knapp 130 kg Holz — unklar bleibt, welcher Gattung — und zum Anheizen 7,5 kg Holzkohle verbraucht.<sup>80</sup>

Im Vergleich dazu auf den ersten Blick hoch, unter Berücksichtigung der Raumgröße aber bescheiden, stellt sich der 1955 anhand von Berechnungen ermittelte Verbrauch von Brennholz für das Aufheizen und die Nutzung der Trierer Palastaula dar. Fritz Kretzschmer zielte mit seiner Kalkulation darauf, die Funktion ihrer Wandtubulierung zu klären. Es ging um die Frage, ob sie im Sinne einer Wandheizung verstanden werden kann. Seinen Rechnungen legte Kretzschmer eine Außentemperatur von  $4^{\circ}\text{C}$  und eine Ausgangs-Raumtemperatur von  $15^{\circ}\text{C}$  zugrunde. Für das Aufheizen nahm er eine Dauer von 48 h an, dabei würden 6,4 t Holz verbrannt. Kretzschmer rechnet dieses Volumen in Wagenladungen um, wobei er eine Fuhre mit knapp 500 kg kalkulierte. Für die dauerhafte Beheizung der Aula geht er von 6 Fuhren Holz pro Tag, also einem Verbrauch von annähernd 3 t aus. Bei dieser theoretischen Rechnung werden etwas höhere Temperaturen erzielt als bei dem wenige Jahre zuvor auf der Saalburg durchgeführten Heizversuch.<sup>81</sup>

An Kretzschmers Berechnungen für die Trierer Palastaula orientiert Peter Herz seine Überlegungen zur Beheizung der Caracallathermen in Rom. Ausgehend vom Gedanken, dass dort zusätzlich Holz für die

<sup>79</sup> Trier: Kretzschmer (1955); Saalburg: Kretzschmer (1953), Baatz (1979), Hüser (1979); Weißenburg: Grassmann (1994a), Grassmann (1994b), Usemann (1996) 9; Xanten: Rieche & Rook (1993), Rook (1994) 7, Reichel (1997), Reichel (2007); Überblicke auch bei Schiebold (2006) 81-93.

<sup>80</sup> Baatz (1979) 35-43.

<sup>81</sup> Kretzschmer (1955), zum ersten Saalburg-Versuch Kretzschmer (1953).

Warmwasserbereitung kalkuliert werden muss, nimmt er einem täglichen Bedarf von 40-50 t Brennholz an.<sup>82</sup> Meines Erachtens ist bei derartigen Überlegungen grundlegend zu diskutieren, inwieweit die Gegebenheiten eines trockenen Raumes in einem Wohngebäude mit der Situation in einer Badeanlage verglichen werden können.

Für die großen Thermen in Biriciana/Weißenburg hat Hans-Christian Grassmann monatsweise Wärmeberechnungen für Caldarium, zwei Tepidarien, Sudatorium und Apodyterium jeweils entsprechend einer vorbestimmten Solltemperatur durchgeführt. Auf dieser Grundlage kalkuliert er einen jährlichen Verbrauch an Heizmaterial von 250 rm Stamm- und Knüppelholz.<sup>83</sup> Im Weiteren ermittelt er dessen Gewicht, geht dafür von vorgetrocknetem Buchenholz aus, und schätzt ab, welche Waldfläche die Beheizung der Therme pro Jahr verschlang. Die Kalkulation zeigt die Tücken der Rechnungen: Bei der Volumenangabe müssen Festmeter und Raummeter vertauscht worden sein, nur so nämlich erklärt sich das bei Grassmann ausgewiesene Gewicht von 203,5 t.<sup>84</sup> Würden der Umrechnung tatsächlich die Einheit rm zugrunde liegen, wären nur 142 t Holz aufzubringen. Auch die Umrechnung des Holzvolumens in Waldfläche verdient Aufmerksamkeit. Nimmt Grassmann einen jährlichen Einschlag von 0,75 ha an<sup>85</sup>, rechnet die Forstwirtschaft üblicherweise mit einem durchschnittlichen Vorrat von 200-250 fm/ha in einem durchforsteten Wald. Legt man der Rechnung diesen Wert zugrunde, ergibt sich für die Befuerung der Weißenburger Thermen ein Flächenbedarf von 1-1,25ha/Jahr. Die Bestockungsdichte, also die Zahl an Bäumen auf einer bestimmten Fläche, und der davon abhängige Ertragsvorrat sind selbst wiederum von Standort und Baumgattung beeinflusste Größen.<sup>86</sup>

Weitere Quantitäten im Zusammenhang mit dem Betrieb antiker Bäder sind inschriftlich überliefert, in Interpretation und Verwertung jedoch nicht weniger problematisch als die experimentell gewonnenen

<sup>82</sup> Herz (2001) 107-109 auf der Grundlage der Befundbeschreibungen von DeLaine (1997) 91-93.

<sup>83</sup> Grassmann (1994b) 311-316.

<sup>84</sup> Grassmann (1994b) 318 kalkuliert 1 rm Buche mit 567 kg, 1 fm mit 810 kg. Nach Gayer (1954) 65 hat ein 1 rm luftgetrockneter Rotbuche ein Gewicht von 530 kg.

<sup>85</sup> Grassmann (1994b) 319. Auch bei dieser Berechnung ist rm durch fm zu ersetzen.

<sup>86</sup> Becker u.a. (2005) 129. Sie stützen sich auf die Angaben in forstwirtschaftlichen Hilfs- oder Massetafeln zur Berechnung stehender Waldbestände, wie sie aus dem 19. und frühen 20.Jh. mehrfach bekannt sind, vgl. etwa Hoppus (1837), Grundner & Schwappach (1922), Gayer (1933). Die Angaben von 2.000-3.000 Hoppus feed/acre bei Hanson (1978) 298, lassen sich auf 178-267 fm/ha umrechnen, vgl. zu den Maßen Anm. 58. Assmann (1953) 92 Tabelle 6 gibt eine Ertragstafel für diverse Baumgattungen.

Größenordnungen: Im fortgeschrittenen 2. oder frühen 3. Jahrhundert stellte Titus Flavius Avitus, *vir egregius* und *patronus* der Koloniestadt Misenum/Miseno, 400 Wagenladungen Brennholz für die öffentlichen Thermen vor Ort zur Verfügung.<sup>87</sup> Die Stiftung galt *ad lavacrum*. Der explizite Hinweis lässt die Frage aufkommen, ob der Begriff synonym für die gesamte — zu beheizende — Anlage stand, ob er den mit Wasser und Baden verbundenen Teil beschrieb, oder aber ob zwischen der Sorge für das Badewasser und die Beheizung der Räume differenziert wurde. Unbeantwortet muss auch die Frage bleiben, ob 400 Wagenladungen Holz für den Badebetrieb knapp oder reichlich bemessen waren.

Aus Catania stammt eine Inschrift des 2. Viertels des 5. Jahrhunderts, in der der Wiederaufbau der Θερμαὶ Ἀχιλλιαναὶ und ein damit einhergehender verringerter Holzbedarf beschrieben wird.<sup>88</sup> Peter Herz interpretiert sie als Zeugnis spätantiker Holzknappheit und zwingender Sparmaßnahmen.<sup>89</sup> Gleichwohl ist auch denkbar, dass die Therme in ihrem erneuerten Zustand kleiner war als zuvor und womöglich durch entsprechende Veränderungen energieeffizienter arbeitete. Die singuläre und im Zuge baulicher Umgestaltung ein und desselben Gebäudes belegte Brennstoffreduzierung kann nicht als überzeugender Hinweis auf einen allgemeinen Holzmangel gelten.

Kalkulationen zum Brennmaterial im Zusammenhang mit dem Betrieb keramischer Öfen wurden in den vergangenen 35 Jahren verschiedentlich auf der Grundlage von Nachbrennversuchen nach Originalbefunden angestellt.<sup>90</sup> Im Durchschnitt wird von einem Brennholzverbrauch von 1–1,5 fm Buche pro Brand eines Töpferofens mit einem Volumen von durchschnittlich 1 m<sup>3</sup> ausgegangen. Mit der Annahme von 50–60 Bränden pro Saison benötigte man für den Betrieb eines Ofens 50–90 fm Holz pro Jahr. Alexander Heising kalkuliert vor diesem Hintergrund für die dreißig Jahre dauernde Produktion der Töpferei am Bettelpfad in Mainz-Weisenau eine Rodungsfläche von 12–30 ha.<sup>91</sup> Rechnet man den Bedarf mit den oben genannten Daten von William Hanson, ergeben sich 5,6–15 ha und damit die Hälfte an benötigten Waldressourcen.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>87</sup> CIL X 3678, vgl. dazu Nenninger (2001) 190 mit Anm. 1267.

<sup>88</sup> IG XIV 455, zuletzt und ausführlich zur Inschrift Korhonen (2003) 152–155 Nr. 11.

<sup>89</sup> Herz (2001) 109–110.

<sup>90</sup> Bryant (1978/79), Dušek (1992) 98–102, Dušek u.a. (1986) 38–69.

<sup>91</sup> Heising (2007) 178–179.

<sup>92</sup> Vgl. Anm. 86: Hanson nimmt einen durchschnittlichen Bestand von 2.000–3.000 Hoppus feed/acre an, das entspricht 178–267 fm/ha.

In der südgallischen Töpferei von Sallèles d'Aude, wenige Kilometer nordwestlich von Narbonne, wurden über drei Jahrhunderte hinweg Gebrauchskeramik, Amphoren und Ziegel produziert. Kurz vor der Mitte des 1. Jahrhunderts erreicht die Keramikproduktion ihren maximalen Ausstoß. Lucy Chabal kalkuliert für diese Zeit, in der sechs Öfen parallel betrieben wurden, einen Verbrauch von 1.900 m<sup>3</sup> Brennholz pro Jahr. Knapp 150 Jahre später, als nur noch drei vergleichsweise kleine Öfen genutzt wurden, nimmt sie überschlägig noch ein Drittel des einstigen Brennstoffbedarfs an.<sup>93</sup>

Im Zusammenhang mit der wissenschaftlichen Auseinandersetzung mit römischem Glas und der Fertigung von Repliken werden in jüngerer Zeit häufig archäologische Experimente durchgeführt. Im Frühsommer des Jahres 2005 errichteten die Glasmacher Mark Taylor und David Hill in ihrer Werkstatt im südenglischen Quarley/Hampshire unter Verwendung originaler Baumaterialien zwei Glasöfen römischer Machart, die 2005 und 2006 über jeweils drei Wochen betrieben wurden. Ziel war es, genauere Vorstellungen von Ofenkonstruktion, Brennholzbedarf, Glasschmelze, Arbeitszyklen, optimaler Betriebstemperatur sowie Effizienz der Öfen zu entwickeln.<sup>94</sup> Für den insgesamt sechswöchigen Betrieb beider Öfen wurden mehr als 24 t Holz verfeuert. Hinter dem Wert stehen das Anfahren der Öfen, die Wiederinbetriebnahme eines Ofens nach einem kompletten Stillstand während zweier Tage, ferner über drei Wochen hinweg das allmorgendliche Wiederaufheizen des zweiten Ofens, nachdem über Nacht die Temperatur verringert worden war. Vor diesem Hintergrund gehen Taylor und Hill von einem Brennholzbedarf von ungefähr 40 t aus, wenn beide Öfen durchgängig über sechs Wochen betrieben würden.

Als Anschlussprojekt wurde 2008 im Auftrag des Provinzialen Archäologischen Museums im belgischen Velzeke ein römischer Glas- und Kühlöfen rekonstruiert. Im November führten auch dort die beiden englischen Glasmacher einen mehrtägigen Versuch durch, der detailliert protokolliert wurde. Auf eine zweitägige Anheizphase folgten vier Arbeitstage, an denen die Temperatur des Glasofens beständig über 1.000°C gehalten wurde. 1.050-1.070°C erwiesen sich als optimal zum Glasblasen oder auch das Ansetzen von Henkeln. Zum Heizen diente trockenes Birkenholz in Scheiten von etwa 1 m Länge, 0,2 m Durchmesser und 4 kg Gewicht. Während des Experimentes konnte ein durchschnittlicher Bedarf

<sup>93</sup> Chabal (2001) 102-106, zu Befund und Entwicklung der Töpferei Laubenheimer (2001) 11-24, illustrativ 19 fig. 5 für phase 3A und 23 fig. 9 für phase 5.

<sup>94</sup> "Quarley Furnace Project", dazu Taylor & Hill (2008) und Paynter (2008).

von einer halben Tonne Birkenholz pro Tag für den Betrieb des Glasofens ermittelt werden.<sup>95</sup>

Eine hohe Energiezufuhr war für die Gewinnung und Verarbeitung von Metallen erforderlich. Das gelang nicht mit Holz, sondern dazu war die Nutzung von Holzkohle notwendig. Diese entsteht bei der unvollständigen Verbrennung von Holz. Seine gezielte Verkohlung in Meilern liefert einen Bruchteil — Angaben schwanken zwischen einem Fünftel und mehr als einem Drittel — der Ausgangsmasse, dafür aber liegt ihr Heizwert deutlich über dem des Rohstoffs Holz.<sup>96</sup> In den nachgenannten Beispielen ist das errechnete oder experimentell bestimmte Volumen von Holzkohle entsprechend in Holzmengen umzurechnen.<sup>97</sup>

Sind antiker Bergbau und Verhüttung seit langem intensiv diskutierte Themen, so interessierte die hierzu notwendige Brennstoffversorgung bis dato kaum. Erst seit den vergangenen zwei Jahrzehnten rückt auch hier die Frage nach dem Bedarf an Brennmaterial in den Vordergrund. Diese Entwicklung ist nicht zuletzt das Resultat einer Vielzahl experimentalarchäologischer Versuche. Frank Nikulka beziffert sie allein bis zum Jahr 1989 mit 300 bis 400, wovon etwa 230 in Publikationen dargestellt sind.<sup>98</sup> Ziel der Versuche ist stets, ein exakteres Bild des Ablaufs (prä-)historischer Metallgewinnung zu entwerfen. Ihre Vergleichbarkeit

<sup>95</sup> Das Experiment ist als "Velzeke Furnace Project 2008" beschrieben unter [http://www.glasrepliken.de/p\\_glasofenexperiment\\_VFP2008.htm](http://www.glasrepliken.de/p_glasofenexperiment_VFP2008.htm). Die quantifizierte Holzmenge berücksichtigt nicht das Brennmaterial, das für das Auf- und Beheizen des Kühlrofens auf konstant etwa 500-550°C nötig ist.

<sup>96</sup> Becker u.a. (2005) 124: 20-25%, nach Thommes (2000) 99 reduziert sich luftgetrocknetes Holz mit 11% Wassergehalt je nach Holzgattung. Versuchsverkohlungen ergaben 24 % für Laubharthölzer, 32% für Laubweichhölzer und 36 % für Nadelhölzer. Healey (1978) 151 nimmt den vierfachen Brennwert für Holzkohle gegenüber Holz an, ein Verhältnis von 2:1 weist Grammel (1989) 164 Abb. 43 aus. Eine erste umfassende Studie zu Produktion, Transport und Verbrauch von Holzkohle in einer Region, dem römischen Britannien, hat Travis (2008) vorgelegt.

<sup>97</sup> Am Rande sei auf Schwelprodukte wie Holzteere und -peche hingewiesen, die entstehen, wenn harzreiches Holz oder Birkenrinde unter Luftabschluss erhitzt werden. Beim sogenannten Doppelpotpfverfahren lässt sich aus den verschwelten Holzmassen etwa im Umfang von 10% Teer gewinnen, vgl. vor dem Hintergrund literarischer Quellen wie technologischer Überlegungen Locher (1991) und Kurzweil & Todenhaupt (1991). Entsprechende Befunde aus kaiserzeitlichen Produktionskontexten waren bis vor wenigen Jahren ausschließlich aus Frankreich, dem Languedoc und Aquitanien, bekannt: Loir (1940), Balsan (1951), Soutou (1959), Aufan & Thierry (1990). 1994 wurden Relikte von Teersiederei aus der Siedlung von Tasgetium/Eschenz am Bodensee bekannt gemacht, vgl. Jauch (1994). Aufgrund ihrer klebenden und konservierenden Eigenschaften fanden Teere und Peche hauptsächlich in der Präparation von Schiffen und der Heilkunde Anwendung. Zum Befund im Walheimer Handelshaus Körber-Grohne (1992).

<sup>98</sup> Nikulka (1995) 255.

aber ist nicht zuletzt aufgrund unterschiedlich gehandhabter Dokumentation, uneinheitlicher Terminologie und verschieden exakter Datenerfassung schwerlich gewährleistet.<sup>99</sup> Vor diesem Hintergrund ist es kaum verwunderlich, dass auch in den nachfolgenden Beispielen die errechneten oder experimentell ermittelten Werte für den Holzbedarf im Kontext von Eisenverhüttung nicht unerheblich voneinander abweichen.<sup>100</sup>

Im Zuge der archäologischen Arbeiten im Vorfeld des Niederlausitzer Tagebaus wurde in den 1990er Jahren das größte spätgermanische Eisenverhüttungsareal in Deutschland systematisch ergraben.<sup>101</sup> Beim südbrandenburgischen Wolkenberg konnten über 1.000 Rennöfen dokumentiert und interdisziplinär untersucht werden. Als zusätzliche Besonderheit des Befundes stellen sich die zahlreichen Meilergruben dar, in denen unmittelbar vor Ort die notwendige Holzkohle gewonnen wurde. Ihre Analyse zeigt, dass hierfür hauptsächlich Eichen-, und zu einem geringen Prozentsatz Kiefernholz Verwendung fand; selten sind Weide, Pappel und Buche. Am Fundplatz "Wolkenberg 17" bildeten 174 Rennöfen und 12 Meiler eine funktionale Einheit. In diesen konnten parallel 5,5 t Holzkohle produziert werden. Zu dieser Menge wurden die angetroffene Schlacke und ihr analysierter Erzgehalt in Beziehung gesetzt. Vor diesem Hintergrund errechnet Ines Spazier, dass in den 174 Öfen ausgehend von etwa derselben Menge Holzkohle und Raseneisenerz 1,7 t Eisenluppe gewonnen werden konnten. Die Inhomogenität der Wolkenberger Befunde macht eine Hochrechnung auf die Gesamtanlage schwierig. Spazier schlägt dennoch ein Modell vor, bei dem aus 32-35 t Holzkohle und Raseneisenerz 12-15 t Eisenluppe produziert wurden und gleichzeitig 15-20 t Schlacke anfielen.

Seit dem Jahr 2003 steht die Fundstelle Sendlach/Eisner im Kärntner Görschitztal im Mittelpunkt interdisziplinärer Forschung. Es handelt sich um die wichtigste Produktionsstätte des *Ferrum Noricum* am Hüttenberger Erzberg; nach gegenwärtigem Kenntnisstand wurde es dort seit der 2. Hälfte des 1. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. über vier Jahrhunderte hinweg gewonnen. Die Fundstelle mit Eisenschmelzöfen sowie Wohn- und Verwaltungsgebäuden nimmt eine Fläche von 50.000 m<sup>2</sup> ein. Im Rahmen der Forschungsarbeiten fand im Sommer 2007 vor Ort ein Verhüttungsexpe-

<sup>99</sup> Nikulka (1995) 259-262 sowie 302-306 Tabelle I–VI die Zusammenstellung quantitativ erfassbarer Daten.

<sup>100</sup> Zusätzlich kann hingewiesen werden auf Collin & Wetzel (2004) 77 Tabelle 1, wo für das 17. Jh. für Holzkohle und Roheisen ein Verhältnis von 3 oder 4 zu 1 angegeben ist.

<sup>101</sup> Zum folgenden Spazier (2000).



riment statt. Ein aus lokalem Lehm errichteter Schachtofen wurde über zwei Wochen hinweg in mehreren Bränden mit Hartholz ausgeheizt. Das eigentliche Experiment dauerte zwölf Stunden. Der Ofen wurde dazu morgens mit 0,25 m<sup>3</sup> Holz vorgeheizt. Für den eigentlichen Rennprozeß fand Holzkohle Verwendung. 30 kg waren notwendig, um 16 kg Erz auf eine 4 kg schwere Eisenluppe zu reduzieren.<sup>102</sup>

Außer als Brennmaterial in der Metallgewinnung war Holz für die Produktion von Branntkalk unentbehrlich. Aus der Umgebung von Bad Münstereifel/Kreis Euskirchen sind in der so genannten Sötenicher Kalkmulde seit langem Hinweise auf eine umfangreiche Produktion von Kalk während der römischen Kaiserzeit bekannt.<sup>103</sup> Bisher ohne Parallele ist der in den 1960er Jahren aufgedeckte Befund einer Kalkbrennerei in Bad Münstereifel-Iversheim. Weiheinschriften legen nahe, dass die Anlage insbesondere im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert von militärischen Abordnungen der bei Xanten stationierten *Legio XXX Ulpia Victrix* betrieben wurde. Zu diesem archäologisch-epigraphischen Befund passt, dass in Mörtelproben aus Xanten neben einer Reihe anderer auch das geochemische Profil des Iversheimer Kalks nachgewiesen werden konnte.<sup>104</sup> Die Anlage war am Fuße von Dolomittfelsbrüchen errichtet und nach Analyse der Holzkohlerückstände mit Pappel- und Weidenholz unterhalten worden, das entlang der nahe fließenden Erft wuchs. Einer der Öfen war in römischer Zeit nicht mehr geleert worden. Speziell die Untersuchung seiner Füllung ergab Hinweise für Beschickung und Ertrag der Kalkbrennerei und erlaubte letztlich die Rekonstruktion eines Ofens und seinen experimentellen Betrieb. Ein Brennvorgang inklusive Beschickung, Abkühlung und Leerung dauerte sechs bis sieben Tage. Bei abwechselnder Nutzung der Öfen konnten in der Anlage im Schnitt pro Tag 3 t Dolomit verarbeitet werden, wofür man 42 m<sup>3</sup> Brennmaterial benötigte; im Monat ließen sich auf diese Weise 200 t Kalk gewinnen.<sup>105</sup>

In den ersten beiden nachchristlichen Jahrhunderten war die Brandbestattung die vorherrschende Bestattungsform in den römischen Nordwestprovinzen.<sup>106</sup> Im Jahr 2005 erschien eine umfangreiche Studie, die kaiserzeitliche Scheiterhaufenbrände in den Mittelpunkt interdisziplinär-experimenteller

<sup>102</sup> Nau u.a. (2008). Zu den archäologischen Arbeiten und Fragestellung Cech (2008a).

<sup>103</sup> Vgl. die Zusammenstellung bei Rothenhöfer (2005) 110-115.

<sup>104</sup> Alföldy (1968), Wang (1995) 90-91. Für das Zitat danke ich Peter Kienzle, Xanten.

<sup>105</sup> Sölter (1974), Sölter (1987), Sölter (2005), zuletzt Schwedt (2008) 174.

<sup>106</sup> Zu aktuellen Diskussionen zur Sitte von Körper- und Brandbestattung in verschiedenen Teilen des *imperium Romanum* vgl. die Beiträge in Faber u.a. (2007) sowie Schruppf (2006) 70-77.



Untersuchungen stellte. In einer Versuchsreihe von vier Kremationen wurden Fragen zum Scheiterhaufen, dem Leichenbrand, dem Inventar und dem archäologischen Befund nachgegangen.<sup>107</sup> Für die hier verfolgten Gedanken interessieren neben den Beobachtungen zum Holzverbrauch — die vier Kremationen wurden mit je zwischen 2,8 und 3,5 m vornehmlich Eiche und Rotbuche durchgeführt — insbesondere die allgemeinen Bemerkungen zum Heizwert von Gehölzen sowie den Faktoren, die den Verlauf der Einäscherung bestimmen.<sup>108</sup> Mathias Becker und seine Kollegen weisen darauf hin, dass die Heizeffizienz von Holz maßgeblich von seinem Wassergehalt sowie der Holzgattung und damit der Materialdichte abhängen. Für den Ablauf des Scheiterhaufenbrandes selbst sind Einflussgrößen wie das aktuelle Wetter, die Sauerstoffzufuhr, die Stapelung und Durchmischung des Brenngutes sowie letztlich die Masse und stoffliche Zusammensetzung des Leichnams ausschlaggebend.<sup>109</sup>

#### METHODISCHES ZWISCHENFAZIT

Die Beispiele zur antiken Nutzung von Holz als Baumaterial, Nutzholz und Brennstoff ließen sich in jedem Einzelfall sehr viel detaillierter darstellen, durch zahlreiche weitere Exempla vermehren, und sicher wurden eine Reihe von Nutzungsmöglichkeiten für Holz übersehen.<sup>110</sup> Der Beitrag zielt jedoch nicht auf eine umfassende Zusammenstellung von Kontexten und Funden, die mit Holz in Verbindung zu bringen sind. Vielmehr geht es im Blick auf die Ausgangsüberlegung um die Frage, inwieweit anhand der Beispiele ein Ressourcenbedarf für eine ganze Region abgeschätzt werden kann. Bevor im Folgenden das römische Rheinland in den Mittelpunkt rückt, sollen zusammenfassend einige methodische und generelle Beobachtungen formuliert werden, die an verschiedenen Stellen bereits angedeutet, dort aber nicht weiter ausgeführt wurden.

<sup>107</sup> Becker u.a. (2005) 61, 86-89 zu den Fragestellungen.

<sup>108</sup> Becker u.a. (2005) 125-129, zum Ablauf eines Scheiterhaufenbrandes vgl. auch Schrupp (2006) 77-88.

<sup>109</sup> Becker u.a. (2005) 129-130 mit einer Erörterung anhand der für die Versuche verwendeten Schweinekadaver.

<sup>110</sup> Zahlreiche Beispiele aus vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Kontexten listen Andraschko (1993) und Gleitsmann (1980) 108-116 auf. Einen sehr überblicksartigen Beitrag zur Abschätzung des Holzverbrauchs im Mittelmeerraum der klassischen, griechisch-römischen Zeit verdankt die Forschung jetzt Stangl (2011).

Primär muss Um- und Hochrechnungen von Holzaufwendungen ein einheitliches Maß zugrunde liegen. So simpel die Feststellung ist, so wenig einheitlich ist der Befund in der Forschungsliteratur. Angaben werden in Raummeter, Schüttraummeter, Festmeter, Kubikmeter, Kubikfüßen oder Kilogramm gemacht, auch Wagenfahren dienen als Quantifizierungseinheit. Dass das Umrechnen von einer in die andere Einheit bisweilen nur annäherungsweise gelingt respektive nicht immer fehlerfrei verläuft, ist in verschiedenen Fällen offenkundig geworden.

Dazu kommen Faktoren, die insbesondere im Blick auf die Kalkulation und Beurteilung von Brennholz von Bedeutung sind: Nur selten wird erläutert, ob Berechnungen anhand von frisch geschlagenem oder getrocknetem Holz erstellt wurden. Dieser Faktor aber hat maßgeblichen Einfluss zum einen auf das Gewicht, zum anderen auf den Heizwert von Holz. Waldfrische und abgelagerte Hölzer unterscheiden sich in ihrem Gewicht um nahezu 50%. Interessiert der Heizwert von Hölzern und ist seine Bemessungsgrundlage eine Gewichtsangabe, differiert er je nach Feuchtegehalt. Ist dagegen das Holzvolumen die zugrunde liegende Größe, ist getrocknetes Holz, sofern von gestapeltem Holz in Raummeter ausgegangen wird, nur um einen geringen Faktor ergiebiger. Noch komplizierter wird es, wenn von lose geschüttetem Holz die Rede ist. Bedingt durch die großen Hohlräume erreicht der Heizwert eines Schüttraummeters Holz nur ein Drittel bis die Hälfte des Wertes eines Raummeters.<sup>111</sup>

Außer vom Wassergehalt und der Lagerung hängt der Heizwert von Holz entscheidend von der jeweiligen Gattung ab. Eiche und Buche besitzen den höchsten relativen Heizwert, während im Vergleich beispielsweise die Pappel nur einen halb so hohen Wert erreicht (100:52).<sup>112</sup> Allgemein von 'Holz' zu sprechen, wenn es um die Frage nach Brennholzverbrauch geht, ist folglich denkbar unpräzise.

Ähnliches gilt, wenn man sich Gedanken macht, wie Volumina, Gewichte und Längenmaße von Holzstücken in Baumstämme und Waldfläche rückgerechnet werden. Forstwirtschaftliche Hilfs- oder Massetafeln liefern dazu die notwendigen Anhaltspunkte.<sup>113</sup> Gleichzeitig machen sie deutlich, dass noch zusätzliche Faktoren berücksichtigt werden müssen: zum einen das Alter und Wachstum der Bäume, zum anderen die

<sup>111</sup> Becker u.a. (2005) 125, Sell & Schnell (1988).

<sup>112</sup> Becker u.a. (2005) 127 Tabelle 28. Gleichwohl wurde die Bad Münstereifeler Kalkbrennerei vornehmlich mit Pappelholz betrieben, vgl. dazu die Literatur in Anm. 105. Entsprechende Faktoren explizit im Blick auf die Lärche trägt Absmeier (2011) zusammen.

<sup>113</sup> Vgl. Anm. 86.

Bestockungsdichte, die Baumzahl auf einer bestimmten Fläche. Diese hängt selbst wiederum von den Standortbedingungen — also Boden und Relief, Licht, Temperatur, Wind und Niederschlag — sowie der Baumgattung ab. Außerdem ist die Frage zu berücksichtigen, ob sich der Bestand natürlich entwickelt und damit eine maximale Dichte erreichen kann, oder aber gezielt durchforstet wird.<sup>114</sup> Entsprechende Vorsicht vor generalisierenden Aussagen ist geboten, wenn es schließlich darum geht, einen Holzvorrat zu beziffern, da hier die Ergebnisse entsprechend differieren.

Fragt man, inwieweit in der Antike Maßnahmen der Bestandspflege, also der Durchforstung aus wirtschaftlichen Interessen, bekannt waren beziehungsweise in den Quellen zu fassen sind, zeichnet sich im Blick auf die jüngste Forschungsliteratur ein interessantes Phänomen ab: In aktuellen archäologisch-historischen Arbeiten nämlich spielt die Überlegung, wie mit stehenden Waldbeständen dauerhaft effektiv umgegangen wurde, fast keine Rolle. Stattdessen stehen die Stichworte ‘Rodungsverbote’ und ‘Aufforstung’ im Vordergrund.<sup>115</sup> Sie machen deutlich, wie stark die Sicht auf antike Verhältnisse von aktuell drängenden Fragen beeinflusst sein kann: Rodungsverbote und Aufforstung markieren jeweils die äußersten Punkte, wenn man sich die Maßnahmen des Waldbetriebs als Skala vorstellt. Beide Fälle setzen eine tatsächlich gegebene respektive empfundene Ressourcen-Knappheit voraus — Aspekte, die heutige Diskussionen um Waldbestände dominieren. Die papyrologische Überlieferung zur Baumkultur in Ägypten bestätigt dieses Bild: Aufforstung, Bestandskontrolle und Abholzungsverbote bestimmen die Nachrichten seit ptolemäischer Zeit.<sup>116</sup> Dazu aber kommen Informationen, die eine auf Nachhaltigkeit zielende Praxis nahe legen. Mit Beschreibungen zu Wurzelstock-, Astholz- und Kopfholzbetrieb, dem Abschneiden von Ästen oder Stamm unmittelbar über dem Erdboden oder in bestimmter Höhe, damit der Baum neu austreibt, sind Formen der Niederwaldwirtschaft ebenso in den literarischen Quellen fassbar wie Ansätze des Plenterbetriebs, bei dem einzelne Bäume gezielt gefällt werden, um einen permanenten Hochwald zu garantieren.<sup>117</sup>

<sup>114</sup> Assmann (1953).

<sup>115</sup> Vgl. zum Beispiel Nenninger (2001) 61-73, Herz (2001) 110-111.

<sup>116</sup> Kramer (1995).

<sup>117</sup> Vgl. die Zusammenstellung der Quellen bei Seidensticker (1886b) 385-395 sowie Trubrig (1888) 20-29. Zur Niederwaldwirtschaft Röhrig u.a. (2007) 339-345, Burschel & Huss (1997) 181-189, Verbücheln & Schneider (1990) 298-302, zur Geschichte des Plenterwaldes Dannecker (1929). Überlegungen zur (prä-)historischen Waldnutzung und gezielten Auflichtung verfolgt auch Goldmann (1993) 73-76.

Fragen der Waldwirtschaft in (prä-)historischen Kontexten stehen seit geraumer Zeit im Mittelpunkt archäobotanischer und insbesondere -paly-nologischer Studien. Anhand qualitativer Nachweise und quantitativer Auszählungen von Pollen in Profilen luftabgeschlossener Sedimente ist es möglich, zeitdifferenziert ein Bild der Vegetation respektive des menschlichen Einflusses auf diese innerhalb von Kleinräumen zu entwerfen. So führt etwa eine dauerhafte Niederwaldwirtschaft mit relativ kurzen Umtriebszeiten, also Abholzung in vergleichsweise kurzen Zeitabständen, zu einem Zurückdrängen bestimmter Hölzer, während andere dem Betrieb nahezu unbegrenzt gewachsen sind und sich entsprechend ausbreiten können. Nur in sehr geringem Maße vermag die Buche erneut aus dem Stock auszu-schlagen, insbesondere wenn sie häufiger als alle 30 Jahre abgetrieben wird. An ihre Stelle treten in Pollenprofilen dann vor allem Nachweise von Eiche und Hainbuche. Die Auflichtung führt gleichzeitig zur Verbreitung Licht liebender und regenerationsfreudiger Gehölze wie der Hasel.<sup>118</sup>

Angela Kreuz hat in ihrer breit angelegten archäobotanischen Studie zu Hessen und Mainfranken in den Jahrhunderten um Christ Geburt auch auf die methodischen Schwierigkeiten bei der Auswertung von Pollenprofilen hingewiesen. Sie stellt beispielsweise die Frage, inwieweit Niederwaldbe-trieb mit kurzen Umtriebszeiten, bei dem die Bewaldung jedoch stets gleich bleibt, einen generell geringeren Baumpollenniederschlag mit sich bringt. Der quantitative Rückgang von Nachweisen könnte damit einerseits tatsächlich auf eine geringere Zahl an Bäumen hinweisen, andererseits aber auch lediglich die Art der Waldbewirtschaftung widerspiegeln.<sup>119</sup>

Von derartigen Detailfragen abgesehen, spricht die altertumskundliche wie naturwissenschaftliche Quellenlage jedoch deutlich dafür, dass zwi-schen Rodung und Aufforstung auch im *imperium Romanum* eine Reihe von Maßnahmen lag.<sup>120</sup> Für die Überlegung, wie in unterschiedlichsten archäologischen Kontexten gefundenes Holz in Baumstämme und Waldflä-

<sup>118</sup> Vgl. Ellenberg & Leuschner (2010) 41-42, Burschel & Huss (1997) 181-182 mit Tab. 6.18, einer Liste zur Fähigkeit von Laubbäumen, aus dem Stock wieder auszuschla-gen. Ferner für antike Kontexte Küster (1993) 61, Willerding (1993) 41. Für Beispiele und den Vergleich von Pollenprofilen aus den germanischen Provinzen Bunnik u.a. (1995) 180-181 die Zusammenfassung für die römische Kaiserzeit, Becker (2005) 158-179 mit der Landschaftsrekonstruktion des Elsbachtals oder Singer (2005) 85-89 für das nördliche Hessische Ried, hier mit dem Befund der Buchenregeneration nach der Auf-gabe des Limes. Ähnliche Beobachtungen referiert Kreuz (2004) 202.

<sup>119</sup> Kreuz (2004) 206, 198-218 ihre Ausführungen zur Holznutzung.

<sup>120</sup> Vgl. so nun auch jüngst die Quellenbetrachtung bei Visser (2010) 13-19 zu Maßnahmen antiker Forstwirtschaft.

che rückgerechnet werden kann, ist auch diese Beobachtung von Bedeutung. Die kalkulierten Zahlen können nicht mehr sein als ein abstrakter Anhaltswert. Die Vorstellung, dass eine bestimmte Bestandsfläche für eine Maßnahme verbraucht wird, macht gedanklich aus einem zunächst dicht bestandenen Wald einen vollständigen und dauerhaften Kahlschlag. Undiskutiert aber bleibt dabei zum einen die Möglichkeit, dass ein Holzbedarf aus einer viel größeren Fläche selektiv geschlagen worden sein kann, zum anderen, dass ein abgeholzter Vorrat neu austreibt und je nach Gehölz in unterschiedlich rascher Folge als nachwachsende Ressource erneut zur Verfügung steht.

Noch ein weiterer Gedanke ist zu berücksichtigen, nämlich die Frage, wie effizient ein Stamm genutzt werden konnte. Bei allen Berechnungen sieht man heute einen nach Bedarf fertig zugeschnittenen Holzstapel vor sich und verbindet diesen mit einer optimalen Nutzung des Baumes. Das setzt Großsägen mit hoher Schnittgenauigkeit ähnlich der modernen Gattersäge voraus. Über den Nachweis entsprechender Maschinen in der Antike diskutiert die Forschung intensiv erst seit kurzer Zeit. Sie stützt sich einerseits auf die Darstellung am Sarkophag des M. Aurelius Ammianus in Hierapolis/Pamukkale, der in die 2. Hälfte des 3. Jahrhunderts datiert wird, sowie auf Befunde des 6. nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts aus Gerasa und Ephesos, die Spuren der Verwendung einer Steinsäge zeigen.<sup>121</sup> Andererseits zieht sie literarische Erwähnungen wassergetriebener Marmorsägen bei Ausonius und Gregor von Nyssa aus dem späten 4. Jahrhundert heran.<sup>122</sup> Während sie einen Einsatz entsprechender Geräte in weiten Teilen des *imperium Romanum* nahe legen, bleibt zu erörtern, inwieweit ein solcher bereits für die frühe und mittlere Kaiserzeit sowie in der Anwendung auf Holz anzunehmen ist — insbesondere angesichts der regelmäßigen Beobachtung von Beilspuren an Kanthölzern in größeren baulichen Konstruktionen.<sup>123</sup> Das Zurichten eines Stammes mit Beil und Dechsel bedeutet, dass entsprechend viel Kleinholz anfällt, das, anders als bei einem Sägevorgang, nicht ausreicht, um daraus weitere konstruktive Elemente herzustellen. Zwar eignet sich dieser Abfall noch als Brennmaterial, der Bedarf an Stämmen gerade für die Nutzung als Bauholz aber ist vor diesem Hintergrund höher anzusetzen als in Berechnungen, die von einer optimalen Verwertung ausgehen.

<sup>121</sup> Jüngst dazu Grewe (2009), Mangartz (2010).

<sup>122</sup> Vgl. dazu Wilson (2002) 15-16, Kessener (2010).

<sup>123</sup> Auf entsprechende Beobachtungen in Xanten, London, Alphen aan den Rijn und Valkenburg wies mich dankenswerterweise Peter Kienzle, Xanten, hin.

Schließlich noch ein Gedanke zur Bewertung experimenteller Ansätze: Rekonstruktionen und praktische Versuche sind eine große Hilfe, sich antiken Lebensverhältnissen zu nähern, eine Vorstellung von Abläufen und Praktikabilitäten zu entwickeln.<sup>124</sup> Experimente mit wissenschaftlicher Zielsetzung sind vielfach aufwendig und werden daher zu ein und demselben Sachverhalt nur in beschränkter Zahl durchgeführt. In diesen Fällen sind Beobachtungen und Ergebnisse ohne Parallelen — und damit letztlich nicht kritisch bewertbar. Sind dagegen Versuche vergleichsweise einfach reproduzierbar, wie bei der Eisenverhüttung in einem Lehm-Rennofen, stehen Vergleichsdaten zur Verfügung. Die skizzierten Arbeiten zur Eisengewinnung, an die sich nach der Studie von Frank Nikulka mehrere hundert Beispiele anschließen ließen<sup>125</sup>, zeigen, dass sich die an verschiedenen Orten durchgeführten Experimente in ihren Resultaten keineswegs entsprechen.<sup>126</sup> Die Bewertung des Einzelexperiments bedarf folglich großer Aufmerksamkeit, insbesondere wenn es auf übergeordneter Ebene Grundlage für weitere quantitative Überlegungen ist.

#### HOLZBEDARF IM RÖMISCHEN RHEINLAND

Die angerissenen Aspekte von Umrechnungen, Holzbeschaffenheit, Waldbeständen und Holzverarbeitung sind in experimentellen Versuchsanordnungen gut beschreibbar, in Hinblick auf antike Befunde aber nicht ohne weiteres abzuschätzen. Vor diesem Hintergrund geht es im Folgenden um die zentrale Frage, inwieweit ein Holzbedarf, wie er in den hier exemplarisch zusammengetragenen Kontexten rekonstruiert wurde, auf die Situation im kaiserzeitlichen Rheinland übertragen werden kann.

Überlegt man als erstes, wie viel Bauholz in militärischen Zusammenhängen benötigt wurde, ist die Ausgangslage für eine Hochrechnung vergleichsweise gut. Einerseits ist im Blick auf die kaiserzeitlichen Truppen von stark standardisierten Größenordnungen auszugehen. Andererseits stehen anhand von Befunden in Britannien erste detaillierte Berechnungen zum Materialbedarf bei der Errichtung eines Auxiliar- beziehungsweise Legionslagers zur

<sup>124</sup> Stellvertretend zu Bilanzen und Perspektiven experimentalarchäologischer Arbeiten *Archéologie Expérimentale* 1 (1991), *Archéologie Expérimentale* 2 (1991), Fansa (2000) sowie Rieche & Schneider (2002).

<sup>125</sup> Nikulka (1995).

<sup>126</sup> Ähnlich Dörfler (1995) 177 zum Verhältnis von Erz zu Schlacke in den bekannten Verhüttungsexperimenten.

Verfügung. Auf ihrer Grundlage ist für die Legionslager in Bonn und Xanten mit Größen von 30 und 60 ha ein Gesamtvolumen von über 70.000 m<sup>3</sup> Bauholz zu kalkulieren. Für den Bau der 18 Auxiliarkastelle in der Region war ein Minimum von 11.000 m<sup>3</sup> erforderlich. Die Limespalisade verbrauchte im betreffenden Bereich mindestens knapp 40.000 m<sup>3</sup> Holz.

In urbanen Kontexten liegt dem Versuch, Bauholzmengen abzuschätzen, die eingangs skizzierte mehrschrittige Annahme zugrunde, dass 50-60 % einer Siedlungsflächen überbaut waren, pro Hektar 14 Häuser standen und für ein zweigeschossiges Haus mit Schuppen mit zusammen 236 m<sup>2</sup> Grundfläche 263 m<sup>3</sup> Bau- und Dielenholz benötigt wurden. Wendet man diese Kalkulation auf die Flächendaten für Köln, Xanten, Trier sowie 21 in der Studie von Wendt und Zimmermann berücksichtigte Vici an, lässt sich ein Holzbedarf von 1.400.000-1.700.000 m<sup>3</sup> errechnen.<sup>127</sup>

Wendt und Zimmermann gehen für das römische Rheinland im 2. Jahrhundert von knapp 4.000 *villae rusticae* aus.<sup>128</sup> Bisher galt vor allem den Ausmaßen ihrer Hof- und Wirtschaftsfläche sowie der Zahl der dort lebenden respektive beschäftigten Personen Aufmerksamkeit.<sup>129</sup> Für die Frage nach dem Bauholzbedarf ist der Blick dagegen auf Größe, Bauform und Ausstattung der Wohn- und Wirtschaftsgebäude zu richten. Zuletzt hat Hans Ulrich Nuber darauf hingewiesen, wie sehr sich die bisher bekannten Gehöfte in genau diesen Punkten voneinander unterscheiden.<sup>130</sup> Vor einer Reihe von Jahren habe ich in anderem Zusammenhang die Größe von Villen-Hauptgebäuden für das Gebiet von Rheinland-Pfalz zusammengestellt. Die knapp zwei Dutzend Befunde differieren flächenmäßig um mehr als das Zehnfache.<sup>131</sup> Eine vergleichbare Beobachtung formuliert Peter Rothenhöfer im Blick auf die Größe

<sup>127</sup> Wendt (2008) 209 Tab. 5 die Flächendaten für die 21 Vici. Aus Wendt (2008) 206 Tab. 4 erschliesst sich die betreffende Zahl für Xanten. Er geht zurück auf Bossart u.a. (2006) 76 Tab. 1, wo auch die Hektar-Angaben für Köln und Trier zu finden sind. Insgesamt addieren die Flächenangaben auf 767 ha, 50-60 % davon entsprechen 383,5-460,2 ha. Auf diese ist der Holzbedarf von 263 m<sup>3</sup>/238 m<sup>2</sup> umgerechnet.

<sup>128</sup> Wendt (2008) 204 Tab. 3.

<sup>129</sup> Vgl. etwa Gaitzsch (1986) 405-427 zu den Gehöften im Hambacher Forst.

<sup>130</sup> Nuber (2005) 273-275 vor dem Hintergrund der Villen in Baden-Württemberg. Ähnlich Kunow (1994) 163 für die Güter im südlichen Niedergermanien auf der Grundlage von 14 Daten oder Traxler (2004) 179-185 im Blick auf die Gehöfte im römischen Oberösterreich.

<sup>131</sup> Die Liste entstand im Rahmen der Beschäftigung mit der Peristylvilla in Bad Kreuznach, vgl. Ehlig (2005). Ermittelt wurden dabei folgende Größen: Boos 340 m<sup>2</sup>, Brücken 448 m<sup>2</sup>, Winnigen 600 m<sup>2</sup>, Leiwien 620 m<sup>2</sup>, Newel 648 m<sup>2</sup>, Bollendorf 672 m<sup>2</sup>, Irsch 805 m<sup>2</sup>, Horath 912 m<sup>2</sup>, Warmsroth-Walderbach 912 m<sup>2</sup>, Briedel 1.092 m<sup>2</sup>, Meckel 1.050 m<sup>2</sup>, Bad Neuenahr-Ahrweiler/Tiefbachtal 1.147 m<sup>2</sup>, Bad Dürkheim-Ungstein/Weilberg 1.290 m<sup>2</sup>, Weitersbach 1.376 m<sup>2</sup>, Mehring 1.400 m<sup>2</sup>, Fließem 1.600 m<sup>2</sup>, Bingen-



der Hofareale, die um das Dreifache variieren können.<sup>132</sup> Notwendig wäre eine vergleichende Studie zur Größe von Wohn- und Wirtschaftsgebäuden verbunden mit der Untersuchung, ob sie in einem bestimmten Verhältnis zur Hof- und Nutzfläche stehen.<sup>133</sup> Setzt man, die methodische Problematik vor Augen, den Holzbedarf der Villen im Rheinland einmal nur in einer Größenordnung an, wie er für die Wohneinheiten in den geschlossenen Siedlungen kalkuliert ist, kommt man auf eine Zahl von schätzungsweise 1.000.000 m<sup>3</sup>.

Der geländebedingte Einsatz von Holz in Baufundamentierungen oder infrastrukturellen Maßnahmen wie der Anlage von Häfen und Prügelwegen bietet keine Ansatzpunkte für übertragbare Hochrechnungen. Hier können lediglich Einzelbeobachtungen dokumentiert werden.

Ähnliches gilt für den Bereich des Nutzholzes, wo kaum Indizien für standardisierte, häufige Verwendungen, beispielsweise den Umfang von hölzernen Geschirrinventaren in Haushalten oder die Ausstattung mit Gerätschaften im ländlichen Kontext, vorliegen. Allein für militärische Kontexte sind normierte Größenordnungen zu beziffern, beispielsweise im Zusammenhang mit der Ausstattung der Legionen mit schweren Waffen. Allerdings ist nicht davon auszugehen, dass Katapulte jeweils erst und stets neu am Stationierungsort einer Legion hergestellt wurden. Hinweise auf die Langlebigkeit der Waffen nämlich gibt die Inschrift auf dem Bronzeblech eines Pfeilgeschützes, das im Jahr 69 n.Chr. vor Cremona verloren ging. Sie wurde nach ihrer konsuldatierten Inschrift im Jahr 45 n.Chr. von der *Legio IV Macedonica* in den Legionswerkstätten von Mogontiacum/Mainz gebaut.<sup>134</sup> Zum Zeitpunkt der Schlacht um die Nachfolge Neros war das Geschütz bereits 24 Jahre im Dienst und wäre es unter günstigen Umständen vermutlich noch länger gewesen. Die Legionen in Bonn und Xanten, für deren Schwebbewaffnung zirka 225-250 t Holz erforderlich waren, werden und müssen damit nicht erst im Rheinland unter Verwendung dortiger Holzressourcen ausgestattet worden sein.

Im Blick auf die Möglichkeit, Holz in seiner Verwendung als Brennmaterial für eine Region hochzurechnen, ergeben sich beim gegenwärtigen

Kempen 1.656 m<sup>2</sup>, Bad Neuenahr-Ahrweiler/Silberberg 1.825 m<sup>2</sup>, Konz 3.192 m<sup>2</sup>, Oberweis 3.750 m<sup>2</sup>, Wittlich 3.920 m<sup>2</sup>, Nennig 4.200 m<sup>2</sup>, Bad Kreuznach 5.600 m<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>132</sup> Rothenhöfer (2005) 47.

<sup>133</sup> Vgl. ähnlich bei Lenz (1999) 815 die Annahme, dass die Größe eines Hauptgebäudes im Verhältnis zur Gesamtgröße der Villa steht. Lenz unterscheidet drei Größengruppen: 1. Hauptgebäude mit einer Länge von bis zu 30 m, 2. solche mit 30–50 m und 3. Bauten von mehr als 50 m Länge.

<sup>134</sup> ILS 2283, zum Katapult Baatz (1980).



Forschungsstand ebenfalls mehr Fragen, als dass tragfähige Resultate ausgewiesen werden könnten. Will man beispielsweise den Holzbedarf in den Thermen des römischen Rheinlandes kalkulieren, ist vorab zu klären, welche Zahl gleichzeitig betrieben wurde, welche Größe und Raumfunktionen die einzelnen Anlagen hatten, ob sie rund um die Uhr und das Jahr betrieben wurden, oder, wie bei Privatbädern anzunehmen, ob mit einer dauerhaften Minimalbeheizung zu rechnen ist, um das Anfahren bei Bedarf zu erleichtern.<sup>135</sup>

Die Frage nach Dauer und Verlauf der Brennvorgänge stellt auch für die Einschätzung des Holzbedarfs bei der Produktion von Keramik, Glas oder Kalk einen maßgeblichen Aspekt dar. Dieser hängt, wie mehrfach betont, entscheidend von der Gattung des verwendeten Holzes und seinem Trocknungsgrad ab. Grundlegende Voraussetzung für die Abschätzung benötigten Brennholzes ist auch hier die zeitliche Einordnung und Differenzierung der jeweiligen Strukturen. Für die 85 Fundstellen, die in Mainz Hinweise auf eine keramische Produktion liefern, konnte Alexander Heising in einer detaillierten Befund- und Fundanalyse zeigen, dass vor Ort jeweils zwischen zwei und 16 Werkstätten in einer Spanne von 40-50 Jahren gleichzeitig arbeiteten.<sup>136</sup> Entsprechende (Vor-)Arbeiten sind für alle energieintensiven Gewerbe eines Untersuchungsraums notwendig, um aus archäologischer Sicht die notwendigen, begründeten Anhaltspunkte für Quantifizierungen bereitzustellen.

Aus dem Gebiet des römischen Rheinlandes liegen zahlreiche Hinweise auf Gewinnung und Verarbeitung von Metallerzen vor.<sup>137</sup> Häufig aber handelt es sich dabei um Oberflächenfunde von Schlacken oder ausschnittsweise in kleinen Sondagen aufgedeckte Verhüttungsplätze. Sie sind aus archäologischer Sicht selten zeitlich wie in ihrem Umfang exakter einzuordnen. Auch für diesen Produktionszweig fehlen die Grundlagen, nachvollziehbar einen erforderlichen Holzbedarf zu ermitteln.

Abgesehen von der Frage nach der jeweils vorherrschenden Bestattungssitte<sup>138</sup> spielt die Mortalität, die Sterberate pro Jahr, schließlich die Schlüsselrolle, wenn man bewerten will, wie viel Holz für die Verbrennung der Toten im kaiserzeitlichen Rheinland zur Verfügung stehen

<sup>135</sup> Im Überblick zu den Badeanlagen in der *Germania inferior* Dodt (2003) 114-327.

<sup>136</sup> Heising (2007) 227-242. Vgl. auch die Entwicklung der Töpferei von Sallèles d'Aude, dazu Anm. 93.

<sup>137</sup> Vgl. die Zusammenstellung bei Rothenhöfer (2005) 77-118.

<sup>138</sup> Die Überlegung gilt speziell auch im Blick auf den Umgang mit verstorbenen Säuglingen und Kleinkindern, vgl. dazu Duday u.a. (1995) zum gallo-römischen Bereich.

musste. Einen geeigneten Zugang könnten die methodischen Arbeiten zu frühmittelalterlichen Gräberfeldern bieten.<sup>139</sup> Unter der Annahme, dass die Einwohnerzahl im Rheinland im 2. Jahrhundert etwa konstant blieb, ließen sich Lebenserwartung und Sterbewahrscheinlichkeit von Personen unterschiedlicher Altersgruppen sowie die Zahl jährlicher Todesfälle erörtern. In den Diskurs müsste die in den *Digesten* überlieferte „Ulpian-Tafel“ als älteste Sterbetafel aus dem frühen 3. Jahrhundert Eingang finden, in deren Kontext bereits seit langem diskutiert wird, inwieweit den als mittlere Lebenserwartung ausgewiesenen Werten Beobachtungen an realen Personengruppen zugrunde liegen.<sup>140</sup>

## FAZIT

Wie sieht das Fazit der Überlegungen aus, anhand bekannter Beispiele Bedarf und Verbrauch von Holz im Rheinland des 2. nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts abzuschätzen? Das Bemühen, antike Sachverhalte quantitativ zu erfassen und in Vergleichen zu bewerten, ist seit den Arbeiten von Richard Duncan-Jones oder William Hanson in den 1970er Jahre beständig gewachsen.<sup>141</sup> Sie entstanden in gewisser Weise als Reaktion

<sup>139</sup> Kokkotidis & Richter (1991) und Kokkotidis (1999) 182-202, Kölbl (2004) 47-84. Zur Problematik, Lebensalter anhand kaiserzeitlicher Grabinschriften zu rekonstruieren, noch immer grundlegend Claus (1973).

<sup>140</sup> Zur Ulpian-Tafel *D.* 35.2.68 pr. Mays (1971), Frier (1982), zuletzt de Vries & Zwalve (2004).

<sup>141</sup> Duncan-Jones (1974), Hanson (1978). — Zur Sammlung in Literatur, Inschriften und Papyri genannter Preise, Löhne und Bevölkerungszahlen sowie daran geknüpften Bedarfsrechnungen zu Grundnahrungsmitteln wie Getreide kommen in den vergangenen knapp zehn Jahren zunehmend an archäologischem und naturwissenschaftlichem Material unternommene Studien, in denen Quantitäten aus Befund- und Fundbeobachtungen sowie archäologischen Experimenten rekonstruiert werden. Ziel dieser zwei- und mehrstufigen Verfahren ist, Produktions- und Bedarfsmengen zu kalkulieren; exemplarisch dazu Drexhage (1991) und Szaivert & Wolters (2005). Derzeit erleben quantitative Studien in der althistorischen und archäologischen Forschung einen regelrechten Boom. Quantifizierung war Thema der im Juni 2010 in Köln veranstalteten Tagung „Wirtschaftsarchäologie – von der Struktur zur Leistung“, in dessen Rahmen die hier formulierten Gedanken skizziert wurden. Im Januar 2011 fand in Augst eine internationale Zusammenkunft zu „Calculations in Archae(bio)ology“ statt. Die Frage nach Produktionsfaktoren und der Leistung der Wirtschaft in römischer Zeit steht im Mittelpunkt eines auf sechs Jahre angelegten Forschungsprogramms des Roman Society Research Center der Universität Gent (<http://www.rsrc.ugent.be/welcome>); unter der Leitung von Alan Bowman und Andrew Wilson ist an der University of Oxford seit dem Jahr 2005 das „Oxford Roman Economy Project“ angesiedelt (<http://oxrep.classics.ox.ac.uk/>), dessen erste Ergebnisse unter dem Titel „Quantifying the Roman Economy“ vorgelegt wurden: Bowman & Wilson (2009). Eine

auf Moses Finley, der 1973 mit *The Ancient Economy* die Synthese seiner wirtschaftshistorischen Studien vorlegte.<sup>142</sup> Finley war gegenüber dem Wert quantitativer Angaben skeptisch bis voreingenommen.

Drei seiner Sätze bringen die hier skizzierten Quantifizierungsversuche im Blick auf Bevölkerungszahlen und Holz meines Erachtens auf den Punkt:

“Sie versuchen, quantitative Angaben als Beweis in Anspruch zu nehmen, wo die Quelle das nicht erlaubt, oder sie überschätzen die Folgerungen, die man berechtigterweise aus ihren Zahlen ziehen darf. ... Statistische Angaben helfen sowohl Denkmuster zu entdecken, wie sie zu erläutern, doch gibt es auch Seiten, die sich einer quantitativen Behandlung entziehen. ... Und, wie ich hinzufügen muss, die anekdotenhafte Arbeitsweise aufzugeben, ein oder zwei Beispiele auszugraben und so zu tun, als ob das ein Beweis sei.”<sup>143</sup>

Ich ‘übersetze’ die drei Auszüge, die ich nicht als generelle Ablehnung von Quantifizierungen verstehe, sondern als Mahnung, mit solchen Daten sorgsam zu verfahren, folgendermaßen:

1. Trotz vielfacher Einzelbeobachtungen und spezieller Studien ist die Zahl an Quantifizierungen für Überlegungen, wie sie von Wendt und Zimmermann für die Besiedlung des Rheinlandes und daran anschließend von mir zum Holzbedarf in der Region angestellt wurden, bisher zu gering. Ziel muss sein, die Beispiele zu vermehren. Es braucht zeitlich wie räumlich eng gesteckte Rahmen, etwa nur wenige Jahre unterhaltene Siedlungsstellen, innerhalb derer entsprechende Daten möglichst flächig erhoben werden.

2. Auf diese Weise ist ein dichter Datensatz zu entwickeln. Seine statistische Betrachtung erlaubt es, mögliche Schemata zu erkennen, beispielsweise ob die Größe des Wohnbaus eines Gehöftes mit der der Wirtschaftsfläche korreliert. Womöglich aber zeigt die unvoreingenommene serielle Betrachtung auch, dass sich keine entsprechende Faustregel formulieren lässt, die Daten sich also einer “quantitativen Behandlung” entziehen.

3. Weil die Datenbasis bisher so schwach ist, verbietet es sich, daran bereits jetzt weiterführende Überlegungen anzuschließen. Das gilt insbesondere für Fragen hoher historischer Relevanz. Dieser Punkt führt einerseits an den Beginn der Ausführungen zurück, andererseits eröffnet er einen letzten näher zu erörternden Gedanken: Wendt und Zimmermann

ähnliche Forschungstendenz zeigt sich in Übersee, insbesondere der Zahl entsprechender Arbeiten von Walter Scheidel (<http://www.stanford.edu/~scheidel/>).

<sup>142</sup> Zitiert hier wird die dritte Ausgabe der deutschen Übersetzung: Finley (1993).

<sup>143</sup> Finley (1993) 18-19.

verfolgten mit ihrer Studie zur Bevölkerungsdichte im römischen Rheinland die Absicht, Daten zur Verfügung zu stellen, auf denen Überlegungen zur Nutzung der Landschaft, dem Umgang mit den natürlich verfügbaren Ressourcen aufgebaut werden können.<sup>144</sup> Diese Zielsetzung wurde mit dem hier vorgelegten Beitrag für die Ressource Holz aufgegriffen und muss nach den skizzierten Ergebnissen als zu früh bewertet werden.

#### INDIZIEN ZUR HOLZKNAPPHEIT IN RÖMISCHER ZEIT?

Zu dieser Einschätzung gelange ich insbesondere auch vor dem Hintergrund eines Gedankens, der seit den vergangenen 30 Jahren wiederholt und in jüngster Zeit intensiv in der Forschungsliteratur diskutiert wird: Beobachtungen zu Bedarf und Verwendung von Holz münden immer häufiger in der Frage, inwieweit sich sein Verbrauch im Landschaftsbild niederschlug, ob mit einem drastischen Rückgang der Wälder zu rechnen ist, womöglich Gebiete von akuter Holzknappheit betroffen waren und daher Bau- und Brennmaterial aus entfernteren Gebieten herangeholt werden musste. Entsprechende Überlegungen wurden im Zuge der Beschäftigung mit verschiedenen Befunden und Funden formuliert.<sup>145</sup>

Ernst Hollstein konstatierte 1980 die Verbauung unerwarteter Hölzer wie Erle, Hasel oder Pappel an der Trierer Basilika. Als Erklärung zog er die Übernutzung der lokalen Waldbestände in Betracht, die es nicht mehr erlaubten, auf ausreichende Mengen passenden Materials zurückzugreifen.<sup>146</sup> 1983 besprach Michael Speidel erstmals zusammenfassend die epigraphischen Zeugnisse der im frühen 3. Jahrhundert aus Mainz in den Odenwald abkommandierten Holzfällerkommandos der *Legio XXII Primigenia Pia Fidelis*.<sup>147</sup> Wiederholt wurden die betreffenden Maßnahmen nicht nur mit Vorbereitungen für Schiffsbauten im Zuge des Britannienfeldzugs unter Septimius Severus in Verbindung gebracht, sondern auch als Hinweise gedeutet, dass im Mainzer Umland zu dieser Zeit keine ausreichenden Ressourcen mehr zur Verfügung standen.<sup>148</sup> 1992 zeichneten Hans-Peter Kuhnen und Bernd

<sup>144</sup> Wendt (2008) 219.

<sup>145</sup> Beispiele für Studien zur antiken Umwelt, in denen speziell der Aspekt des Raubbaus am Wald diskutiert wird: Wagner-Hasel (1988), Hughes (1994) 73-90, Ziethen (2000), Haas (2006) 130-134, Thommen (2009) 39-44.

<sup>146</sup> Hollstein (1980) 156.

<sup>147</sup> Speidel (1983).

<sup>148</sup> Herz (1985) zur *expeditio Britannica*, Herz (2001) 112, ausführlich Nenninger (2001) 175-179, Schallmayer (2004) 38, Haas (2006) 130-131, Heising (2008) 127.

Becker vor dem Hintergrund der Frage nach den Ursachen von Limesfall und Ende der römischen Herrschaft im Gebiet des heutigen Südwestdeutschland ein Szenario des Raubbaus am Wald. Es gründet auf Eichenfunden aus Schotter- und Sandsedimenten in Main und Donau, die nach dendrochronologischer Analyse hauptsächlich in den beiden Jahrhunderten um Christi Geburt abgelagert wurden. Sie erklären die Befunde mit großflächigen Rodungen, die ihrerseits schwere Hochwasser verursachten.<sup>149</sup> Im gleichen gesamthistorischen Kontext brachte Martin Luik die vielerorts im 3. Jahrhundert zu beobachtende Verkleinerung von Kastellbädern mit einem Mangel notwendiger Rohstoffe in Verbindung. Er spricht dabei allerdings nicht explizit und ausschließlich von der Ressource Holz.<sup>150</sup> Den Gedanken hat Markus Scholz im Jahr 2002 wieder aufgegriffen und die entsprechende Beobachtung an Bädern und Landgütern wie etwa Bondorf oder Lauffen am Neckar konkret mit der Überlegung verbunden, ob für ihre Reduktionen auch akuter Brennstoffmangel verantwortlich gewesen sein kann.<sup>151</sup> Hartmut Kaiser und Sebastian Sommer stellten 1994 in ihrer Publikation zu Lopodunum/Ladenburg die Frage, ob beim Übergang von der Holz- zur Steinbauweise auch Holz-mangel eine Rolle gespielt haben könne.<sup>152</sup> Eine allgemeine Verschlechterung der Bauholzqualität infolge des römischen Raubbaus konstatierten im selben Jahr Egon Schallmayer und Gerhard Preuss im Blick auf die Holzbefunde des Benefiziarier-Weihebezirks in Osterburken. Die dort verbauten Eichenhölzer zeigen im zeitlichen Verlauf eine abnehmende Jahrringbreite. Die Beobachtung wurde bis dato so interpretiert, dass Hölzer von immer ungünstigeren und trockeneren Standorten verbaut werden musste, weil gutes Holz aus nächster Nähe nicht mehr zur Verfügung stand.<sup>153</sup> Marcus Nenninger überlegt in seiner im Jahr 2001 publizierten Dissertation, ob die Bauweise der Limespalisade mit teilweise halbierten Stämmen Material sparen sollte.<sup>154</sup> Insbesondere in der Limesforschung wurden derartige ökologische Überlegungen in den vergangenen Jahren verstärkt in die Diskussion gebracht. 2004 formulierte Egon Schallmayer, ob für die Vorverlegung des Obergermanisch-Rätischen Limes auch Holz-mangel verantwortlich gewesen sein könne, und man so

<sup>149</sup> Kuhn (1992a) 36-39 und Becker (1992).

<sup>150</sup> Luik (1992).

<sup>151</sup> Scholz (2002), vgl. ebenso die Diskussion bei Haas (2006) 245-252.

<sup>152</sup> Kaiser & Sommer (1994) 321 Anm. 242.

<sup>153</sup> Schallmayer & Preuss (1994) 25-26, Schallmayer (2004) 38-42 und Heising (2008) 127 Anm. 388.

<sup>154</sup> Nenninger (2001) 182-183.

näher an walddreiche Gebiete herangerückt sei. Auch die Ablösung der Palisade durch ein System aus Wall und Graben erörterte er vor entsprechendem Hintergrund.<sup>155</sup> Im Blick auf Rätien überlegte Eveline Grönke 2008 und ein Jahr später Gerhard Waldherr, ob der Ersatz der Holzpalisade durch eine bis zu 1,2 m mächtige und 3 m hohe Steinmauer zu Beginn des 3. Jahrhunderts auch in Holzmangel und logistischen Problemen bei der Beschaffung geeigneter Stämme begründet sein kann.<sup>156</sup>

Insbesondere Angela Kreuz und Dietwulf Baatz haben sich in den vergangenen Jahren kritisch mit einzelnen der angerissenen Gedanken beschäftigt.<sup>157</sup> Wiederholt wurde von ihnen darauf hingewiesen, dass die betreffenden Beobachtungen, etwa zum Holz der Trierer Basilika, den sedimentierten Eichen oder auch der Reduzierung der Bäder, lokalen Charakter haben und keineswegs verallgemeinert werden können. Die Limesverlegung lässt sich nur schwerlich mit einem Mangel an Holz erklären, wenn die neue Grenzlinie in Wetterau und Odenwald erneut aus demselben Rohstoff errichtet wurde. Die Rätische Mauer war, wie der seit mehr als 100 Jahren bekannte Befund im Kreutweiher beim Kastell Dambach/Landkreis Ansbach zeigt, zumindest teilweise mit einem Holzpfehlrost fundamentierte. Jüngste dendrochronologische Untersuchungen datieren die betreffende Baumaßnahme, die ebenfalls im Widerspruch zur Vorstellung von Holzmangel steht, in die Jahre 206/207 n.Chr.<sup>158</sup> Umgekehrt sind auch aus dem Bereich des Taunuslimes zwischen den WP 3-55 und 3-63 steingesetzte Abschnitte dokumentiert. Hier passte man die Bauweise den örtlichen Geländeeigenschaften an: Wo es aufgrund des anstehenden Felsens nicht möglich war, einen Graben auszuheben und einen Wall anzulegen, errichtete man aus den lokalen Steinvorkommen eine Trockenmauer.<sup>159</sup> Die Interpretation von Jahrringbreiten schließlich verlangt die Beachtung vielfältiger Faktoren: Neben Standort, Niederschlägen und Temperatur sind vor allem baumimmanente Eigenschaften für die Jahrringbreiten maßgeblich. Mit zunehmendem Alter des Baums nimmt die Breite der ausgebildeten Jahrringe tendenziell ab. Des Weiteren sind starke Schwankungen innerhalb eines Individuums bei der Auswertung zu beachten. Der Baum legt in verschiedenen Höhen

<sup>155</sup> Schallmayer (2004) 42 und Schallmayer (2005) 16.

<sup>156</sup> Grönke (2008) und Waldherr (2009) 98-101.

<sup>157</sup> Zum folgenden Kreuz (2004) 199-218 und Baatz (2008) 100-102.

<sup>158</sup> Czysz (2008), Czysz u.a. (2008), Czysz & Herzig (2008b).

<sup>159</sup> Vgl. Klee (1989) 76-80. Die Nutzung nahe verfügbarer Baustoffe konnte jüngst auch für den Bau der Rätischen Mauer wahrscheinlich gemacht werden, vgl. Sommer & Kerscher (2008).

unterschiedlich an Umfang zu. Maximale Breiten finden sich üblicherweise im Stammfuß und Gipfel, in etwa ein Drittel der Baumhöhe ist regelmäßig der gleichmäßigste Zuwachs zu konstatieren.<sup>160</sup>

Weiterhin ist eine in verschiedenen Quellen dokumentierte Beobachtung in der Diskussion verstärkt im Auge zu behalten: Wie zahlreiche der zusammengestellten Beispiele gezeigt haben, wurde Holz in der Regel entsprechend seinen Charakteristika gezielt für seine jeweils beabsichtigte Verwendung ausgewählt und dazu gegebenenfalls auch über weitere Strecken in standortferne Regionen transportiert.<sup>161</sup> Maßgeblich waren hierfür unter anderem seine Bruchfestigkeit, Tragfähigkeit und Wasserbeständigkeit, sein Heizwert oder seine Eigenschaften beim Verbrennen.<sup>162</sup>

Es ist verlockend, anhand der hier zusammengetragenen Zahlen zu den unterschiedlichen Aspekten, in die die Überlegungen zum Holzbedarf ausgreifen, und insbesondere auch zur Frage nach möglicher Holzknappheit in römischer Zeit, Stellung zu nehmen. Ist eine Annahme durch eine große Zahl an Beispielen gut begründet, kann darauf ein weiteres Modell aufgebaut werden. Soweit allerdings sind meines Erachtens gegenwärtig weder die Ergebnisse zur Bevölkerungsdichte, noch zum Holzbedarf. Bereits jetzt das eine als solides Fundament zu betrachten, darauf das erste Stockwerk aufzusetzen und hierauf mit dem Gedanken, ob die Ressource Wald im 2. Jahrhundert ein knappes Gut im Rheinland war, gleich ein weiteres, führt auf den Holzweg. An der Statik ist noch zu arbeiten.

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<sup>160</sup> Ausführlich zu den Einflussfaktoren der Jahrringbreite Knigge & Schulz (1966) 92–104.

<sup>161</sup> Zur Verwendung verschiedener Hölzer nach forstwissenschaftlichen, physikalisch-gewerblichen Kriterien: Knuchel (1954), Zundel (1990) 210–244; zum Gebrauch in vorindustriellen Kontexten nach archäologisch-archäobotanischen Befunden Willerding (1993), Kalis & Tegtmeier (1999) 133–167; zur spezifischen Nutzung nach papyrologischen und literarischen Quellen Habermann (2000) 202–223 und Habermann (2009) 37–43 Tabelle 1. Philologische Quellen zum Holztransport bei Mulliez (1982), vgl. ferner Nenninger (2001) 81–86; zum archäologisch-archäobotanischen Nachweis von Floßholz Bauer (1998/99). Zuletzt zu Eignung und Verwendung von Hölzern als Bauholz sowie zu Behandlung, Lagerung und Transport Eissing (2011) 1–16.

<sup>162</sup> Ein gutes Beispiel liefert die Tanne, die nur in Mittel- und Hochgebirgen wie Schwarzwald, Vogesen, Alpen, Apenninen und Pyrenäen vorkommt. Archäobotanische Untersuchungen von Holz- und Holzkohleresten zeigen ihre massive Verbreitung außerhalb des natürlichen Verbreitungsgebietes in römischer Zeit. Vgl. Küster (1995) 22, Küster (1994) 129 fig. 2 ohne Nachweise von Weinfässern, die meist aus Tannenholz gefertigt waren, ferner Nenninger (2001) 81–86.



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<sup>163</sup> Die Zeitschriften- und Reihenkürzel folgen den Vorgaben der *Année Philologique* und des *American Journal of Archaeology*. Dort nicht aufgeführte Organe sind nach den Richtlinien der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission zitiert.



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PLUTARCH AND *MOS MAIORUM*  
IN THE *LIFE OF AEMILIUS PAULLUS*\*

*Abstract:* Plutarch's *Life of Aemilius* stands out as an exceedingly favourable portrait of one of the leading figures of mid-Republican Rome. Above all, the biographer generously praises his subject's qualities as a wise and traditionalist statesman in the city and as a philanthropic and philhellenic benefactor abroad. Although his policies are characterised as distinctly 'conservative', Aemilius admirably succeeds in winning universal popularity, thus bridging the common divide between Senate and people. Led astray by demagoguery, only his unruly troops temporarily disturb the general consensus. Throughout the narrative, Aemilius strives to educate the people around him: his sons and his peers, the Roman citizens and soldiers, foreign peoples and leaders. While many of these features can also be found in the historical tradition beyond Plutarch, the biographer adapts and reinforces them to suit his own interests and objectives. The same applies to his representation of political life in the Middle Republic, which sometimes resembles a golden age of ancestral virtue and at other times bears the foul marks of decay and indiscipline. On either reading, Aemilius is the man to uphold and enforce the political and moral standards cherished by Plutarch as well as by the Roman tradition of *mos maiorum*.

The decades between the Hannibalic War and the Gracchan 'Revolution' are commonly regarded as a comparatively calm period of consensus within the Roman body politic. While there are many good reasons for positing this view, the relative stability of mid-Republican politics should not obscure the fact that its ideological underpinnings, the *mos maiorum*, were constantly being (re)invented and (re)defined both at the time and by later generations of politicians and historians. This process is inevitably reflected in the careers of the era's leading statesmen, most notably the Scipiones, Cato the Elder, and Titus Flamininus, who were all heavily embroiled in the vicissitudes of political, legal, and cultural struggles, with concomitant debates about morality and decline.

The same may be said of Aemilius Paullus, albeit with a major qualification: while the aforementioned figures are subject to both praise and blame, the victor of the Third Macedonian War stands out as a heroic figure with a virtually impeccable record in the entire literary tradition.<sup>1</sup>

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To some extent, this is surely due to Polybius, whose account underlies much of the later treatments by Livy and Plutarch, though these authors obviously wrote from their own perspective and consulted additional material as well.<sup>2</sup> Another reason for the almost universal acclaim earned by Aemilius seems to be the way his image was used by both Scipio Aemilianus and his rivals in the political controversies of the subsequent generation (Plut., *Aem.* 38.3-5).<sup>3</sup>

Whatever its background, the exceptionally positive appraisal of Aemilius in the historical tradition needs to be borne in mind when reading the most comprehensive of the extant accounts of his career, which is provided in Plutarch's *Life of Aemilius*. This is not to argue that the biographer was merely at the mercy of his sources. In fact, one of the key points to emerge from this paper is that Plutarch's depiction of Aemilius owes a lot to his own values, interests, and objectives. At the same time, however, the biographer's emphases ought to be interpreted against the background of the material at his disposal. What Plutarch produced is certainly an exceedingly favourable portrait, but this does not automatically imply that he was blinded by uncritical admiration for his subject and therefore chose to ignore important evidence to the contrary. Writing more than 200 years after Aemilius' death, Plutarch must have found it difficult, if not impossible, to see past the well-established tradition of celebrating the victor of Pydna as an exemplar of ancestral virtue and excellence.<sup>4</sup>

The laudatory image painted in Plutarch's sources also helps to understand his emphasis on the value of imitating good examples in the proem to the *Aemilius – Timoleon*, which emphatically asserts a personal connexion between the biographer and his readers on the one hand and the exemplary subjects of the *Lives* on the other. According to Alberto Barzanò, this programmatic statement implies a sharp contrast with the methodological approach adopted in the rest of the series, revealing that Plutarch purposefully chose to conceal the negative aspects of Aemilius'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Reiter (1988); Barzanò (1994), (1996) 97-116; also Vianoli (1972), who all seek to demonstrate that this is historically inadequate. A different approach is adopted in Tröster (2010).

<sup>2</sup> On Plutarch's sources for the *Aemilius* cf. Flacelière & Chambry (1966) 60-65; Scardigli (1979) 57-60; Barzanò (1996) 90-96. Also note Gabba (2004), Zecchini (2005) as well as Tatum (2010) on the biographer's use of Polybius.

<sup>3</sup> See below at n. 101ff.

<sup>4</sup> This argument is developed more fully in Tröster (2010). Plutarch's bias in favour of Aemilius (and Flamininus) is also discussed by Bremer (2005).

historical record.<sup>5</sup> However, the biographer does not actually declare an intention to pass in silence over his subject's defects, as Barzanò has it, but rather to use the *Lives* as a means of evading the discomfort encountered in daily life (*Aem.* 1.5).

Having said that, it remains remarkable that Plutarch's heroes are generally characterised by a mixture of good and bad traits,<sup>6</sup> whereas the greater part of the *Aemilius* is constructed around an antithesis between a virtually stainless protagonist (Aemilius) and his dishonest and dastardly adversary (Perseus).<sup>7</sup> As indicated above, this can to a large extent be attributed to the one-sided nature of the historical tradition, which inevitably constrained the compositional options available to Plutarch. Aemilius' (and Timoleon's) brilliant record made it most appropriate, then, that the proem to this particular syzygy should highlight the merits of studying the fairest examples (τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν παραδειγμάτων). Like elsewhere, the opening statement is a carefully crafted introduction that responds to the specific challenge of writing the pair at hand.<sup>8</sup> At the same time, its focus on imitation and paradigms of virtue is perfectly in line with the moral agenda that underlies the whole series.<sup>9</sup>

Notwithstanding the importance of considering Plutarch's material, it is above all the rich repertoire of biographical adaptation and reinterpretation that makes the *Lives* an original and intriguing piece of literature. Evidently, Plutarch's values, his views on politics, society, and culture, and the intended message to his Graeco-Roman audience are fundamental to a meaningful understanding of the text. If Aemilius had come to embody the Roman tradition of *mos maiorum* before Plutarch, it is through Plutarch's eyes that the modern reader looks at his career and character. Accordingly, the present paper pays special attention to the specifically Plutarchan elements in the depiction of Aemilius and his milieu, thus trying

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Barzanò (1994) 403-404: "dichiarando esplicitamente di voler eliminare dal suo racconto tutti gli aspetti negativi pure presenti nella sua vita" (p. 404).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Duff (1999) 45-49 and 53-65, who rightly rejects attempts at classifying particular *Lives* as either positive or negative; *pace* Nikolaidis (2005) 312-315. Also note Stadter (2000) 500-506.

<sup>7</sup> On Plutarch's use of foils cf. generally Bucher-Isler (1972) 62-68; Frazier (1996) 64-67. The negative characterisation of Perseus is discussed below at n. 50ff.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. generally Duff (1999) 13-51 *passim*; also Cooper (2004) 34-45.

<sup>9</sup> The imitation of *exempla* is also discussed in *Per.* 1-2 and *Demetr.* 1.1-6 (on bad examples); further *Arat.* 1. Other passages set out the purpose of depicting character: *Alex.* 1; *Cim.* 2.2-5; *Nic.* 1.5; also *Pomp.* 8.7; *Dem.* 11.7; *Cat. Min.* 24.1; 37.10; further *Galb.* 2.5. On some of these programmatic statements cf. the references cited in the previous note, as well as Stadter (1988) 283-295; Desideri (1989) 199-204.

to gain a clearer idea of how the Greek writer viewed his subject and the Roman Middle Republic as a historical period. The discussion is divided into four sections, focusing in turn on (1) the protagonist's traditionalism and his commitment to the public good, (2) his encounter with Greece and her culture, (3) his political affiliation and statesmanlike presence at Rome, and (4) his rôle as a military leader and champion of discipline in the field.

# 1. AEMILIUS AND ANCESTRAL VIRTUE

Following the formal proem, the narrative of Aemilius' life begins with some remarks on the protagonist's distinguished ancestry (*Aem.* 2.1-4). Evidently, this is a most appropriate opening for a biography dedicated to a champion of traditional values. In characteristic fashion, Plutarch not only highlights the shining record of the patrician house of the Aemilii, but also makes a suggestive observation on the possibility of a connexion with Pythagoras, the alleged educator of Numa (*Aem.* 2.2).<sup>10</sup> At the same time, the outline of Aemilius' family background serves to sharpen the focus on the interplay between virtue and fortune. In particular, the fate of Aemilius' father (*cos.* 219, 216) foreshadows that of his son: while the former displays φρόνησις and ἀνδρεία in the face of the Roman débâcle at Cannae (*Aem.* 2.3-4), the latter, though victorious on the battlefield, proves his greatness in the midst of private misfortune (*Aem.* 36; *Tim.* 41.10). Interestingly, this is not merely a matter of compositional emphasis. Building on an analysis of Livy, Virginie Pfeifer has convincingly argued that there was a notable family tradition of the Aemilii Paulli that stressed the rejection of passionate impulses in the hour of adversity.<sup>11</sup>

The ensuing paragraphs give a rather peculiar account of the protagonist's rise to prominence; for they seem to be modelled on Polybius' famous description of the education of Scipio Aemilianus, which heavily stresses the exceptional nature of the latter's ambition to earn distinction for his temperance, generosity, and courage (*Plb.* 31.F23-30).<sup>12</sup> This

<sup>10</sup> Cf. also *Num.* 1.3.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Pfeifer (1997), with a comparison of passages from Liv. 22 and 44-45.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Swain (1989) 316 with n. 9, who plausibly suggests that the account was fabricated by Plutarch himself, whereas Liedmeier (1935) 51-53 attributes this to the biographer's source. Also note Harders (2008) 104 n. 9, who suspects that Plutarch may have sought to prepare the reader for the treatment of Scipio's education in the latter's *Life*, which is not extant. On the Polybian passage cf. Walbank (1979) 495-514.



analysis obviously resembles Plutarch's depiction of Aemilius' efforts to acquire "a reputation arising from valour, justice, and trustworthiness (τὴν ἀπ' ἀνδρείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ πίστεως δόξαν)"<sup>13</sup> instead of wooing supporters by pleading in the courts and mingling with the people (*Aem.* 2.6). While it is clear that the biographer's remarks cannot be read as an accurate description of Aemilius' actual conduct, the passage is nevertheless instructive in several ways. For one thing, it shows that his historical image was decisively shaped by implicit or explicit comparison with his son Scipio Aemilianus, who also figures in Plutarch's accounts of the battle of Pydna and of Aemilius' censorship (*Aem.* 22.3-8; 38.3-6). For another, it would be rather unfitting for a champion of *mos maiorum* to launch his career in as unconventional a way as the biographer suggests. This might make sense on the assumption that the values embodied by Aemilius were in fact being betrayed by his peers, who are indeed criticised for currying favour with the people. However, such a line of reasoning is difficult to reconcile with Plutarch's preceding statement on the age as abounding in men of great virtue (*Aem.* 2.5). Notwithstanding this inconsistency, the whole passage duly performs the function of introducing Aemilius' outlook and character into the narrative.

The protagonist's traditionalism emerges more clearly from the next chapter, which highlights his commitment to the preservation of religious and military customs. While Plutarch apparently knew that his hero held the office of augur (*Aem.* 3.2) and presumably found some reference to Aemilius' piety and religious conservatism in his sources, the ensuing remarks may have more to do with his own views on the importance of priestly duties than with any historical data at his disposal.<sup>14</sup> After all, as a dedicated priest at Delphi, Plutarch was deeply concerned about these matters and energetically sought to counter the careless neglect of worship among his contemporaries.<sup>15</sup> Later in the narrative, the stress on priestly duties and ceremonies is repeatedly taken up in the account of the campaign against Perseus and especially at the end of the *Life*, when Plutarch refers to the offering of sacrifices as the last of Aemilius' deeds (*Aem.* 39.3-5).<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Translations are adapted from the Loeb Classical Library.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Stoffel (2005) 317-318: "Cette construction en devient d'autant plus intéressante qu'elle est sans doute le résultat d'une volonté délibérée de Plutarque et non un héritage de la tradition historiographique" (p. 317). Also note Flacelière & Chambry (1966) 66.

<sup>15</sup> According to his own testimony at *mor.* 792f (*An seni sit gerenda res publica*), Plutarch served as priest for "many" Pythiads (i.e., four-year periods).

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *Aem.* 17.10-12; 19.6; 24.3; 28.7; also 36.4.

Moreover, as regards the earlier chapter, it is significant that the protagonist's admonitions to his colleagues serve to underscore the connexion between the strict observance of religious customs and the well-being of the state (*Aem.* 3.4-5). At the same time, Aemilius' mission to educate his fellow citizens (παιδεύειν τοὺς πολίτας) also extends to ensuring discipline in the military sphere (*Aem.* 3.6-7).<sup>17</sup> Interestingly, Plutarch here compares his subject to a priest who seeks to obtain compliance both by offering explanations and by instilling terror. Once again, this hardly sounds like a reference to a golden age of uncorrupted virtue, but rather like a prescription for a society in need of moral guidance.

Apart from his efforts to explain norms and customs to his compatriots, Aemilius is later described as performing the same rôle vis-à-vis the vanquished Perseus (*Aem.* 26.10-12). As he accepts the king's submission, the protagonist's foremost concern is the greatness of his victory as measured by Roman standards. After complaining that his adversary does not show himself a noble or even fitting antagonist, Aemilius goes on to lecture the Macedonian ruler on the meaning of virtue, cowardice, and honour among his fellow countrymen. In this instance, then, the state of Roman society appears to be perfectly sound while it is the king's baseness that calls for a moral lesson. Significantly, Plutarch's narrative is here quite different from the version given by Livy (45.8.1-5), who reports that Aemilius was chiefly concerned to ask Perseus about his reasons for starting the war, which is followed by reassurances as to the *clementia* of the Roman people.<sup>18</sup> As Polybius' account is not extant, it is difficult to say how far the biographer departed from his source, yet it is not unlikely that he took the opportunity to place additional emphasis on Aemilius' authority in matters of tradition and to elaborate on the contrast with the pitiful king.<sup>19</sup> Beyond the dramatic encounter with Perseus, it will be seen in the next section that the protagonist's thorough

<sup>17</sup> On Aemilius as an educator see also the next section. His relationship with the soldiers is discussed in section 4.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Chaplin (2000) 81-82 and 117-118, who argues that Livy casts Perseus as a foreigner unable to learn from the past.

<sup>19</sup> Swain (1989) 325 goes a step further by suggesting that the speech in Plutarch is the biographer's own invention, whereas the Polybian tradition is represented in Livy (cf. similarly Liedmeier (1935) 213-219). While it is true that Liv. 45.8.6 corresponds to Plb. 29.F20.1, this does not say anything about the substance of Aemilius' words to Perseus. In any case, Livy, too, is likely to have adapted what he found in Polybius. Contrary to Swain's (and Liedmeier's) view, Lehmann (1969) 407-408, suggests that Plutarch's version is inspired by Scipio Nasica's account. On the various strands of the episode cf. also Pittia (2009) 109-112.

grounding in Roman tradition also strengthens his ability to inspire admiration among the Greek public (*Aem.* 28.7-9).<sup>20</sup>

Another feature of Aemilius' devotion to *mos maiorum* is the priority accorded to public over private concerns. Above all, Plutarch keeps highlighting his subject's poverty and indifference to wealth, which is a theme that can be traced through the whole of the extant tradition from Polybius onwards.<sup>21</sup> According to the biographer, Aemilius failed to enrich himself during his Spanish campaign and later refused even to look at the gold and silver captured from the defeated Perseus (*Aem.* 4.4; 28.10; *Tim.* 41.8). As a result, he is supposed to have died so poor that his means barely sufficed to meet the dowry due to his wife (*Aem.* 4.5), with his property 'scarcely' amounting to 370,000 drachmas<sup>22</sup> — a tiny sum in comparison with the wealth of Scipio Aemilianus, who could afford generously to leave his share to his brother (*Aem.* 39.10).<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, the notion of Aemilius' poverty is indirectly corroborated by stories about his virtuous son-in-law Aelius Tubero, whose family is said to have lived in the poorest conditions and never to have used any silverware before he finally earned a costly bowl as a reward for valour in battle (*Aem.* 5.6-8; 28.11-13).<sup>24</sup>

Whatever the biographer may have found in his sources, it is clear that these indications constitute a *topos* rather than a reliable guide to the economic conditions of a mid-Republican aristocrat. To begin with, the figure cited by Plutarch — 370,000 drachmas — is surely no negligible amount of money, though comparative data for Aemilius' contemporaries are lacking.<sup>25</sup> What is more, even in the early second century a consular career required a tremendous outlay on campaigns and self-display.<sup>26</sup> In fact, the biographer hints at this when he says that his hero, despite being poor, used to spend liberally (*Aem.* 4.5; also *Tim.* 41.8) — a point that

<sup>20</sup> See below at n. 59.

<sup>21</sup> Beyond Plutarch's *Aemilius*, cf. Plb. 18.F35.4-6; 31.F22.1-7; Liv., *per.* 46.14; Plut., *mor.* 198b-c (*Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata*); Diod. 31.F26.1-2; Cass. Dio 20.F67.1; Zonar. 9.24.4; Cic., *off.* 2.76, *or.* 232; Val. Max. 4.3.8; *vir. ill.* 56.6.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Plb. 31.F28.3: "more than 60 talents" (= 360,000 drachmas).

<sup>23</sup> On Scipio's gesture as part of a strategy designed to advertise his brotherly *pietas* cf. Harders (2008) 119-128.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *mor.* 198b-c (*Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata*); Val. Max. 4.4.9; Plin., *nat.* 33.142.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Shatzman (1975) 243-244 for an estimate of his property.

<sup>26</sup> Note that Aemilius was not always successful as a candidate in consular elections. Cf. *Aem.* 6.8; *mor.* 197f (*Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata*); Liv. 39.32.6; Val. Max. 7.5.3; *vir. ill.* 56.1, and the discussion in Tansey (2011). On the financial implications cf. Flaig (2000) 133-134.

is further reinforced by the contrast with Perseus' avarice and obsessive fear of losing his wealth.<sup>27</sup> As for Aemilius' supposed disinterest in the king's riches, this can hardly be taken at face value, the less so as he readily seized his enemy's costly library (*Aem.* 28.11).<sup>28</sup> Before the war, however, his means may not have been sufficient to finance the political careers of all four of his sons, two of whom were adopted into the families of the Cornelii Scipiones and the Fabii Maximi.<sup>29</sup>

Aemilius' sons are also the focus of Plutarch's observations on the protagonist's activities after his first consulship in 182. Thus, the biographer makes a point of noting that their training included Roman as well as Greek παιδεία (*Aem.* 6.8-9), which may be mere conjecture from information about the education of Scipio Aemilianus at a much later stage.<sup>30</sup> Aemilius himself is said to have been present when his sons practised or exercised (*Aem.* 6.10), thus — like Cato — showing a profound interest in their proper training, yet at the same time being inclined — unlike Cato — extensively to draw on the expertise of Greek specialists.<sup>31</sup> Interestingly, Aemilius' personal involvement is qualified by a remark on his overriding concern for public affairs.<sup>32</sup> No further particulars are known; for Plutarch does not have anything else to report from the whole period between the protagonist's first consulship and the Third Macedonian War more than a decade later.

The emphasis on the priority of public over private interests is later developed along with the leitmotif of Aemilius' greatness in fortune and misfortune. As the theme of τύχη is employed to structure the whole biographical pair, there is no doubt that its elaboration owes much to Plutarch's compositional agenda.<sup>33</sup> Still, it should not be overlooked that the focus on self-control in adversity can also be found elsewhere in the

<sup>27</sup> Cf. *Aem.* 8.10; 12.3-13.3; 23.9-11; 26.7. Apparently, Aemilius was particularly generous with the resources captured from the king (*Aem.* 28.2; 28.7; 28.11). Further note that Perseus' attitude is unfavourably contrasted with that of Philip and Alexander (*Aem.* 12.9-11; also Diod. 30.F9.2).

<sup>28</sup> See below at n. 64.

<sup>29</sup> On these adoptions as part of a political strategy cf. Flaig (2000) 134-136; Harders (2008) 108-118.

<sup>30</sup> See below after n. 40.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *Cat. Ma.* 20.5-7. However, this does not mean that Cato totally rejected Greek education. Cf. the balanced discussion in Astin (1978) 341-342; also Gruen (1992) 67; Gehrke (1994) 599-600. By contrast, Ferrary (1988) 535-539, stresses the differences between the approaches pursued by Aemilius and Cato, respectively.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. the similar statement in *Cat. Ma.* 20.4. On the theme of service to the state in the *Lives* cf. generally Frazier (1996) 141-168.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Swain (1989) 323-334; also Desideri (1989) 204-212; further Geiger (1981) 103-104 = (1995) 188-190. Tatum (2010) suggests that Plutarch's adaptation of the theme

historical tradition. Thus, the basic outline of Aemilius' two major speeches on the vicissitudes of fortune, which he delivers after the surrender of Perseus and after the death of his sons (*Aem.* 27; 36), is paralleled in Polybius and other sources.<sup>34</sup> In the present context, the second of these speeches is particularly relevant: instead of lamenting his fate, Aemilius expresses confidence about the future of the state, suggesting that his own misfortune may be sufficient to satisfy Fortune's wrath at Rome's prosperity (*Aem.* 36.7-9). Accordingly, the triumphator may be considered no less clear a *παράδειγμα* of human weakness than the one who is led in triumph.<sup>35</sup> Demonstrating statesmanlike composure in the face of private adversity, Aemilius here readily interprets the loss of his sons as an acceptable sacrifice to the well-being of the *res publica*.<sup>36</sup>

## 2. AEMILIUS AND THE WORLD OF HELLAS

While the preceding section has focused on Aemilius' attachment to Roman tradition, the following analysis will take a closer look at his encounter with the Greek world. Evidently, these topics are closely interrelated, partly due to the inherent tension between the affirmation of *mos maiorum* and the adoption of Greek ideas and practices. In Plutarch's work, however, the existing differences between Greek and Roman culture generally tend to be minimised; for the biographer basically treats their representatives on the same terms, measuring them according to values and concepts shaped by Greek tradition and civilisation.<sup>37</sup> In particular, Greek education and benefactions to Greece regularly serve as a yardstick for judging the Roman protagonists of the *Lives*.<sup>38</sup> In the case of Aemilius, it will be seen that his attachment to

mainly concerns Timoleon and the liberation of Sicily, whereas the biographer's Aemilius "is very much of a piece with his Polybian predecessor" (p. 457).

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Plb. 29.F20 (his version of the second speech is lost); Liv. 45.8.6-7; 45.41; Diod. 30.F23.1; 31.F11; App., *Mac.* 19.2-3; Val. Max. 5.10.2. On the biographer's adaptation and the various interpretive nuances cf. Swain (1989) 323-327; also Pavan (1961) 600-613. On the philosophical content of the speeches see below at n. 44ff.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Liv. 45.41.10: *et cum ego [scil. Aemilius] et Perseus nunc nobilia maxime sortis mortalium exempla spectemur*.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Liv. 45.40.9, who hails the speech as *memorabilis... et digna Romano principe*.

<sup>37</sup> On the 'Greekness' of Plutarch's perspective cf. Duff (1999) 287-309; Preston (2001) 97-109; Goldhill (2002) 254-271; Roskam (2004) 255-264; also D'Ippolito (2005) 182-186; Silva (2007).

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Swain (1990) esp. 129 = (1995) 234-235; also (1996) 139-144.

Roman customs is repeatedly filled with Greek content and stands side by side with his philhellenism and φιλανθρωπία. Consequently, there is a close affinity between the biographer's view of Aemilius' traditionalism and his own outlook as a Greek aristocrat and intellectual.

As for the protagonist's education, Plutarch is well aware of the fact that it was largely determined by Roman norms and practices. However, he is at pains to point out that Aemilius went beyond this by having his sons exposed to Greek παιδεία, on which he supposedly insisted more eagerly (φιλοτιμότερον) than on its Roman equivalent (*Aem.* 6.8). Of course, this does not turn him into a scholar, but the biographer makes sure to highlight his appreciation of Greek learning and his devotion to the instruction of the young. In fact, this forms part of a larger theme that centres around Aemilius' efforts to educate the people around him. Following the aforementioned remark on Numa's debt to Pythagoras (*Aem.* 2.2), the protagonist's pedagogic mission is set out in the chapter on his zeal and dedication as a priest, which Plutarch approvingly describes as confirming the importance ascribed to religion by certain philosophers (*Aem.* 3.3).<sup>39</sup> This appraisal is all the more interesting as Aemilius' attachment to religious and military customs is clearly related to Roman rather than to Greek tradition.<sup>40</sup>

Apparently, the biographer saw no inconsistency between his subject's profound concern for Roman customs and the claim that his interest in the training of his sons was focused particularly on Greek learning and culture (*Aem.* 6.8-9). As indicated in the previous section, it may simply be that Plutarch transposed to this early stage what he knew about the education of Scipio Aemilianus after the victory over Perseus. This is certainly suggested by the fact that he mentions the presence not only of Greek scholars and artists, but also of teachers in the art of hunting; for according to Polybius, it was only after the Macedonian campaign, when Aemilius had placed the royal huntsmen and preserves at Scipio's disposal, that the latter developed a passion for the chase (Plb. 31.F29.5-7). Moreover, Pliny reports that the victorious general requested a tutor for his children from the Athenians, who sent him the distinguished

<sup>39</sup> Meissner (1974) 103-104 takes this to imply that Aemilius "habe sich Mühe gegeben, die traditionellen religiösen Bräuche *auf versachlichter Basis* auszuüben" (p. 104, emphasis added). However, Plutarch's words may have little to do with the augur's attitude and conduct. See above at n. 14.

<sup>40</sup> See above at n. 14ff.

painter and philosopher Metrodorus (*nat.* 35.135).<sup>41</sup> Consequently, it is rather doubtful that the training of the young nobles was quite as comprehensive as Plutarch implies even before the appropriation of Perseus' library and the recruitment of expert teachers in the wake of the Macedonian campaign.<sup>42</sup> Still, it should not be forgotten that Greek education was not entirely unknown in second-century Rome, and presumably Aemilius' sons knew what they were taking when they chose out the king's books for themselves (*Aem.* 28.11).<sup>43</sup>

The protagonist's speeches on the mutability of fortune, too, ought to be considered in terms of his mission to educate his compatriots. Significantly, their setting and content is rich in Platonic ideas and imagery, much of which is presumably due to Plutarch's own emphasis.<sup>44</sup> Thus, Aemilius' remarks after the submission of Perseus are addressed especially to the younger men (*Aem.* 27.1), as is also stressed by Livy (45.8.6) and Diodorus (30.F23.1). In Plutarch's account, this is reinforced by a concluding observation regarding the impression made on the targeted audience, whose boastful and overbearing manner (τὸ καύχημα καὶ τὴν ὕβριν) is said to have been curbed as by a bridle (ὥσπερ χαλινῷ) (*Aem.* 27.6).<sup>45</sup> As for the later speech delivered after the death of his sons, Aemilius' composure is most worthy of a wise educator; for rather than asking for comfort, he is described as seeking to comfort his afflicted fellow citizens (*Aem.* 36.2).<sup>46</sup> Likewise, he appears to be in control of his passions during the battle of Pydna as he gives a show of confidence despite being struck by consternation and fear (*Aem.* 19.2-3).<sup>47</sup> Before the onset of the fight, moreover, he is compared to a pilot (ὥσπερ κυβερνήτης) who carefully judges the situation and goes on to exhort the troops (*Aem.* 18.3).<sup>48</sup> All of these passages lend support to the argument advanced by Lora Holland

<sup>41</sup> Flaig (2000) 138 remarks that Metrodorus remained unimportant both as an artist and as a scholar, but it is unlikely that the Athenians chose a nonentity for the job. Also note Plb. 31.F24.6-7, who states that Greek specialists became available in large numbers around that time.

<sup>42</sup> However, note that Diod. 31.F26.5, too, refers to Scipio's childhood.

<sup>43</sup> Similar conclusions are drawn by Astin (1967) 15. On the library as a (large) piece of booty see below at n. 64.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. the references cited in n. 34.

<sup>45</sup> On Plutarch's use of this Platonic metaphor cf. Fuhrmann (1964) 141 with n. 2.

<sup>46</sup> Also note *Tim.* 41.10.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Plb. 29.F17.1.

<sup>48</sup> On the pilot metaphor in Plutarch's writings cf. Fuhrmann (1964) 235-237; also Saïd (2005) 23-24, who notes the development of Plato's nautical imagery in Plutarch.



that Plutarch makes Aemilius conform to the ideal of the philosopher statesman.<sup>49</sup>

The protagonist's qualities as a wise leader are further heightened by the persistent denigration of Perseus, whose vile character serves as a foil for Aemilius' sagacity and integrity.<sup>50</sup> Among other things, the king is described as cowardly fleeing from the battlefield and hence undeserving of the divine assistance lent to his brave adversary (*Aem.* 19.4-6).<sup>51</sup> Later on, following a disgraceful attempt to escape his destiny, the Macedonian ruler is depicted as ignominiously submitting to the victor in order to beg for his life (*Aem.* 26.7-9).<sup>52</sup> In the end, it is Perseus' ignoble behaviour that prompts Aemilius' instructive speeches first to the king himself and then to the Roman officers, in which he spells out the lessons to be learnt from the monarch's downfall. Rather than diminishing his glory, as Aemilius is supposed to have felt (*Aem.* 26.11), his opponent's lack of dignity actually enables him to demonstrate his superior wisdom and teaching skills.<sup>53</sup>

At the same time, the king's baseness and the dishonest treatment of his allies serve to underscore the protagonist's mild and friendly attitude towards Greece. After his victory at Pydna, the Roman commander embarked on an extended tour of the country, which Plutarch mainly describes in terms of his generosity and philhellenism (*Aem.* 28). Having praised Aemilius' conduct as honourable and humane (ἐνδοξον ἄμα καὶ φιλόανθρωπον), the biographer reports that his hero restored political order, offered gifts from the king's stores, and expressed admiration for Phidias' statue of Zeus at Olympia (*Aem.* 28.1-5). Even the defeated Macedonians are said to have obtained freedom and independence, their financial burden being less than half the amount they used to pay to their kings (*Aem.* 28.6).<sup>54</sup> Prior to his departure, moreover, Aemilius is depicted as wisely exhorting them to preserve their freedom by good order and concord (*Aem.* 29.1: δι' εὐνομίας καὶ ὁμονοίας).<sup>55</sup> Beyond

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Holland (2005).

<sup>50</sup> Cf. the detailed analysis in Scuderi (2004/05). Also note Burck (1992) 153-159 on the same antithesis in Livy and, more generally, Di Leo (2003) on the vilification of the last Antigonid ruler in the ancient tradition.

<sup>51</sup> The passage contains the Polybian fragment 29.F18. Cf. also F17.3-4; Liv. 44.42.2.

<sup>52</sup> By contrast, Liv. 45.7 stresses the greatness of the occasion.

<sup>53</sup> Accordingly, it is quite misleading to view the ample attention devoted to Perseus as implying that Aemilius is not the real protagonist of the *Life*, as is argued by Barzanò (1994) 405-406, (1996) 87-90.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. the more detailed treatment in Liv. 45.29.4-30.8 and 32.1-7, which celebrates the just order established by Rome. Also note Diod. 31.F8.1-9.

<sup>55</sup> On Aemilius' success in building consensus at Rome see section 3.

this, Plutarch also mentions the general's order to place his own statue on the monument that had been designed to honour Perseus at Delphi (*Aem.* 28.4).<sup>56</sup> This demonstration of power as well as Aemilius' interventions in the affairs of the Greek states indicate that the trip was, in fact, not a mere sightseeing tour undertaken to pay homage to Hellas.<sup>57</sup> As Ulrich Eigler has convincingly argued, Livy actually describes the journey as an act of Roman dominance over Greek culture (*Liv.* 45.27.5-28.6).<sup>58</sup> By contrast, Plutarch's focus is squarely on the protagonist's φιλανθρωπία rather than on the expression of Roman supremacy.

This emerges even more clearly from the biographer's ensuing remarks on the games, sacrifices, and banquets organised by Aemilius in such a way as to amaze the Greeks with his excellent qualities as a host and his extraordinary attention to detail (*Aem.* 28.7-9).<sup>59</sup> In doing so, the general appears successfully to apply skills developed in a Roman context to impress a Greek audience. This point is reinforced by his dictum that the same spirit is required to do well both in marshalling a line of battle and in presiding at a symposium (*Aem.* 28.9), which may be taken to signal Plutarch's appreciation of the carefully arranged order of the banquet.<sup>60</sup> Significantly, the biographer's philhellenic reading of Aemilius' conduct differs sharply from Livy's account, which presents the victory celebrations at Amphipolis primarily as a show of Roman power (*Liv.* 45.29-33).<sup>61</sup> Thus, the Augustan historian describes the setting of the ceremony as frightening to the audience, and points out that Aemilius chose to announce the decisions of the Senate in Latin before having them translated into

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Plb. 30.F10.1-2; *Liv.* 45.27.7. Günther (1995) reads this as a "machtbewußte Siegerpose, keine sympathieheischende Geste philhellener 'paideia'" (p. 84).

<sup>57</sup> This point should not be overstated, however. Cf., e.g., the categorical statement in Flaig (2000) 138: "Mit Philhellenismus hatte das nichts zu tun", which may be contrasted with Ferrary (1988) 554-560, who speaks of "une véritable offensive de charme" (p. 556), as well as with Gruen (1992) 246. Also note Botteri (1974/75) [1979] 167-168, who suggests that Aemilius chiefly sought to acquire foreign *clientelae*.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Eigler (2003): Livy "inszeniert vielmehr die Tour als einen Akt ideeller Besitzergreifung Griechenlands" (p. 262).

<sup>59</sup> On this passage cf. the more extensive analysis in Tröster (2009) 170-174.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Paul (1991) 160. Also note *mor.* 198b (*Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata*); 615e-f (*Quaestiones convivales*), as well as Plb. 30.F14; *Liv.* 45.32.11; *Diod.* 31.F8.13.

<sup>61</sup> Cf., e.g., Gruen (1992) 245-247. Flaig (2000) 139-140 puts it more crudely: "Die Feier von Amphipolis war ein römisches Spektakel, eingerahmt von römischer politischer Symbolik, welche die Griechen und ihre Athleten zu Statisten degradierte" (p. 139). A different perspective is provided by Ferrary (1988) 560-565; Edmondson (1999) 78-81 and *passim*, who both stress the importance of Hellenistic precedents and parallels. Also note Egelhaaf-Gaiser (2006), who sets out the broader context of the episode in Livy's narrative.

Greek (45.29.2-3).<sup>62</sup> What is more, Livy records that the event was concluded by the dedication of spoils from the enemy and by the display of the loot to be carried off to Rome (45.33.1-7). Plutarch, on the other hand, focuses on Aemilius' ἐλευθεριότης and μεγαλοψυχία as evidenced by his supposed disinterest in the gold and silver of the royal treasures (*Aem.* 28.10).<sup>63</sup> At the same time, the biographer approvingly notes his hero's decision to appropriate Perseus' library as an invaluable resource of Greek learning (*Aem.* 28.11), which should not obscure the fact that the king's books were also of great material and symbolic value as items of booty.<sup>64</sup>

Beyond his noble treatment of Greece after Pydna, Aemilius is many times described as a benefactor of conquered enemies. With regard to his Spanish command, Plutarch claims that he was voluntarily received by 250 local towns, and goes on to report that he left the province in a state of peace without having enriched himself by extortion (*Aem.* 4.3-4).<sup>65</sup> Likewise, the biographer notes that Aemilius gave humane and conciliatory terms (λόγον φιλάνθρωπον καὶ συμβατικόν) to the defeated Ligurians and refrained from doing them any serious harm, though he made sure to check their piratical raids and saved many of those who had been captured (*Aem.* 6.4-7). Later on, Aemilius is said to have felt pity for the vanquished Perseus, arranging his transfer to a clean place, where more humane conditions obtained (*Aem.* 37.2: φιλάνθρωποτέραν δίαιταν).<sup>66</sup> At the end of the *Life*, Plutarch's praise culminates in the account of the protagonist's funeral, which highlights the goodwill (εὖνοια), honour (τιμή), and gratitude (χάρις) he had won among both Romans and foreigners (*Aem.* 39.7). Thus, Iberians, Ligurians, and Macedonians are recorded as participating in the ceremony,

invoking Aemilius as benefactor and saviour of their countries (εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα τῶν πατρίδων). For not only at the times of his conquests had he treated them all with kindness and humanity (ἡπίως ...

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Plut., *Cat. Ma.* 12.5-7 on Cato's speech to the Athenians in 191. Also note Val. Max. 2.2.2. Kaimio (1979) 100 suggests that Aemilius sought to produce a "dramatic effect".

<sup>63</sup> According to Forte (1972) 59, n. 90, Plutarch's use of the term μεγαλοψυχία is "strong evidence" that the passage is derived from Polybius. This is *Quellenforschung* at its most dubious.

<sup>64</sup> Thus, rightly, Barzanò (1994) 413, (1996) 106 and 218, n. 181. On the seizure of the library cf. also Isid. *orig.* 6.5.1.

<sup>65</sup> Liv. 37.46.7-8 and 57.5-6 is chiefly concerned with the military side of the campaign. Also note *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 614 = II 5041, a decree granting freedom and property to certain slaves or servants of the Hastenses.

<sup>66</sup> Diod. 31.F9.4-5 attributes this humanitarian initiative to Aemilius Lepidus. According to Liv. 45.28.9-10, Aemilius Paullus had earlier rebuked C. Sulpicius for not guarding the king properly.

καὶ φιλανθρώπως), but also during all the rest of his life he was ever doing them some good and caring for them as though they had been kindred and relations (*Aem.* 39.8-9).

Of course, these passages do not necessarily imply that Aemilius was invariably popular among his erstwhile enemies. As Barzanò has pointed out, the grateful foreigners mentioned by Plutarch may be quite unrepresentative of the majority of their compatriots.<sup>67</sup> Nevertheless, there is no doubt that Aemilius, if only to enhance his own power, acted as patron of those indebted to him and hence defended their interests.<sup>68</sup> In Plutarch's account, however, this functional aspect is obviously secondary to the main emphasis on the general's kindness and humanity, which he shows to Greeks and Barbarians alike.<sup>69</sup> Interestingly, these qualities figure much less prominently in the chapters dealing with Roman politics and society, in which Aemilius is rather depicted as a stern and outspoken leader. Thus, the important concept of *πραότης* is only once used to describe the lenient treatment of Roman soldiers by Aemilius' peers, whose practice is unfavourably contrasted with the severity of the protagonist himself (*Aem.* 3.6). Accordingly, the latter seems to know exactly when to display and when to withhold mildness.<sup>70</sup>

As emerges quite clearly from Livy's account, Aemilius also acted harshly against the Greeks who had actually or supposedly been aligned with the losing side in the war, ordering, among other things, to pillage several cities and to deport a large number of individuals to Rome.<sup>71</sup> In

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Barzanò (1994) 419, (1996) 111-112. Also note Liedmeier (1935) 287: "Bovendien maakt deze tirade [*scil.* Plutarch's account of Aemilius' funeral] al te zeer de indruk van een soort apotheose na het vallen van het doek." Val. Max. 2.10.3 speaks of *principes Macedoniae* who happened to be at Rome on an embassy, whereas Diod. 31. F25.1 only mentions the presence of Romans.

<sup>68</sup> Note that the Spanish provincials chose him as one of their advocates in an extortion trial in 171 (Liv. 43.2). Aemilius' rôle as patron is emphasised by Botteri (1974/75 [1979]) 159-160 and 167-168. On Plutarch's difficulties in understanding the workings of Roman patronage cf. generally Pelling (1986) 178-179/(2002) 220.

<sup>69</sup> On *φιλανθρωπία* and related concepts in Plutarch cf. Martin (1960), (1961); Panagopoulos (1977) 216-222; de Romilly (1979) 275-307; Frazier (1996) 231-239; Becchi (2009).

<sup>70</sup> On Aemilius' relationship with the soldiers see section 4.

<sup>71</sup> Sack and destruction of cities: Liv. 45.27.1-4; 31.14; deportations: 45.31.9-11; 32.3-6; Plb. 30.F13.6-11; Paus. 7.10.7-11; connivance in atrocities: Liv. 45.28.6-8; 31.1-2; merciless killing of enemy soldiers: 44.42.4-6; also Val. Max. 2.7.14. On the plundering of Epirus cf. the sources cited in the following note. The evidence is discussed more fully in Larsen (1967) 475-482; Deininger (1971) 191-204; Vianoli (1972) 87-89; Barzanò (1994) 417-419, (1996) 110-112, as well as Reiter (1988) 136-142, who emphatically concludes that, "amidst the ruins of seventy cities and one hundred and fifty thousand lives, there is

Plutarch's narrative, there is only one major stain on the general's exemplary record, namely the sack of seventy towns in Epirus (*Aem.* 29).<sup>72</sup> While the biographer leaves no doubt as to the brutality of the operation and even hints at the protagonist's preference for a treacherous surprise attack, he is obviously at pains to exculpate Aemilius by putting the blame on others. Thus, he points out that his hero was merely executing an order issued by the Senate to recompense the legionaries for their share in the campaign against Perseus (*Aem.* 29.1).<sup>73</sup> At the end of the episode, moreover, the focus is not on the general's responsibility, but on the greedy soldiers and their meagre profit from the assault (*Aem.* 29.5).<sup>74</sup> Finally, the impression of Aemilius' incorruptibility is decisively reinforced when Plutarch suggests that he acted the way he did "most contrary to his good and kind nature (μάλιστα παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν, ἐπιεικῇ καὶ χρηστὴν οὖσαν)" (*Aem.* 30.1).<sup>75</sup> Both the negative assessment of the operation as a whole and the defence of the commander's personal integrity set the biographer apart from the other extant sources.<sup>76</sup>

### 3. AEMILIUS AND ROMAN POLITICS

As has been set out in the preceding sections, Plutarch describes Aemilius as a traditionally-minded noble and wise educator. In what follows, it will be seen that the same features also shape the representation of the protagonist's political rôle vis-à-vis his senatorial peers and the people at Rome. Thus, Plutarch paints the complimentary portrait of a virtuous and almost invariably successful leader, even though the material underlying this reading suggests that quite a few of Aemilius' contemporaries would have thought otherwise.

no room for the image of Aemilius as a man of benevolence and humanity" (p. 141-142). For a less emotional assessment, cf. Ferrary (1988) 547-553.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Plb. 30.F15; Liv. 45.34.1-6; App., *Ill.* 9.28-10.29; Plin., *nat.* 4.39; Eutr. 4.8.1; Iust., *prol.* 33, with the modern works cited in the previous note, as well as Oost (1954) 83-86.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. also Liv. 45.34.1.

<sup>74</sup> In actual fact, there may have been a rather generous distribution. See below at n. 125.

<sup>75</sup> Oost (1954) 133, n. 106 suspects that the statement goes back to Polybius, who reports that Aemilius had personal reservations about the charges brought by 'collaborationists' against their fellow Greeks (Plb. 30.F13.11). However, this view may underestimate Plutarch's readiness to adapt his source material.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Ferrary (1988) 548-550; also Liedmeier (1935) 239: "'t is het humanisme van Plutarchus, niet van Aemilius dat hier spreekt" (Liedmeier's emphasis). The sole exception is Cass. Dio 20.F67.2, who cites the pillage perpetrated by Aemilius' troops as the only blemish on the general's career — without, however, explicitly referring to Epirus.

Considering his image as a staunch defender of *mos maiorum*, it is only natural and fitting that Aemilius is depicted as a champion of the aristocracy against the base designs of flatterers and demagogues. While this pattern is familiar both from ancient writers in general and from Plutarch in particular, its elaboration in the *Aemilius* is quite remarkable in that the protagonist is singularly capable of using his conservatism to gain popularity among the citizens. As a result, Aemilius' universal appeal serves to bridge the common divide between Senate and people, which Christopher Pelling and others have shown to be key to understanding Plutarch's view of Roman politics.<sup>77</sup> Time and again, βουλή and δῆμος are depicted as uniting behind Aemilius' far-sighted policies, whereas his critics and enemies, most notably those opposing his triumph, are simply represented as standing outside the general consensus.

The theme of Aemilius' popular eminence is introduced in the problematic passage on his alleged rejection of the political practices of his peers (*Aem.* 2.5-6), which has been discussed above in the context of his attachment to Roman tradition.<sup>78</sup> Significantly, Plutarch points out that his hero was not naturally unsuited (ἀφυσῶς) to act like the other young nobles, but purposefully chose to pursue a different path. Aemilius' popularity is then confirmed by electoral success as evidenced by his winning an aedileship over twelve strong competitors (*Aem.* 3.1). In the same chapter, his aversion to currying favour with the people is reinforced by the focus on his severity as a commander (*Aem.* 3.6-7).<sup>79</sup>

Later on, these motifs are amply developed in the detailed account of Aemilius' election to a second consulship, which heavily stresses his independence from popular pressures.<sup>80</sup> According to Plutarch, it was not the protagonist himself who sought office, but rather the Roman people were looking for "a man of reason who understood how to manage great affairs (ἄνδρα νοῦν ἔχοντα καὶ πράγμασι χρῆσθαι μεγάλοις ἐπιστάμενον)" (*Aem.* 10.1). Only as a result of the eager insistence and clamours of the multitude is Aemilius said to have consented to stand for election (*Aem.* 10.3). After his appointment to the command against Perseus, moreover, he is reported to have been escorted home in splendid fashion by the whole people (*Aem.* 10.6).<sup>81</sup>

<sup>77</sup> Cf. Pelling (1986) 165-87/(2002) 211-225; also de Blois (1992) *passim*; Mazza (1995) *passim*; Sion-Jenkis (2000) 66-69. On the δῆμος theme in the Greek *Lives* cf. Prandi (2005).

<sup>78</sup> See above at n. 12-13.

<sup>79</sup> On Aemilius as a stern disciplinarian see below after n. 121.

<sup>80</sup> On the problem of the statesman's independence in Plutarch cf. generally Beck (2004).

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Liv. 44.22.17.

The emphasis on Aemilius' rejection of demagoguery is further heightened by his subsequent speech to the people, in which he bluntly asserts that he feels no gratitude towards them, insisting on his absolute authority as commander and telling them to do no more than "quietly (σιωπῇ) render the services necessary for the war" (*Aem.* 11.2).<sup>82</sup> Far from rendering him unpopular, this call for obedience meets with a most favourable response on the part of the citizens, who are said to have become imbued with reverence (αἰδῶ) towards him; for "all were glad that they had passed by the flatterers and chosen a general who had frankness of speech and a high spirit (παρρησίαν ἔχοντα καὶ φρόνημα)" (*Aem.* 11.3). This expression of respect for a resolute champion of discipline is indeed so remarkable that Plutarch, who is usually quite critical of the fickleness of the δῆμος, goes on to extend his praise to the whole citizen body: "Thus was the Roman people, to the end that it might prevail and be the greatest of them all, a servant of virtue and honour (ἀρετῆς καὶ τοῦ καλοῦ δοῦλος)" (*Aem.* 11.4). Evidently, this is a far cry from the biographer's earlier remarks on those among Aemilius' contemporaries who needed to be reminded of the importance of ancestral values (*Aem.* 3.4-7).<sup>83</sup>

While it is not at all implausible that Aemilius' traditionalism appealed to the people,<sup>84</sup> Plutarch's account may also be read to suggest that his popularity was far from uncontested. To begin with, the politicians denounced as flatterers must have calculated that they had a reasonable chance of beating him at the polls. More importantly, the biographer explicitly mentions that Aemilius was supported by his sons and sons-in-law as well as by a multitude of powerful friends and relations (*Aem.* 10.2). Undoubtedly, his election was not merely due to his own dignity and virtue, but his excellent connexions among the aristocracy mattered a great deal, too.<sup>85</sup> Apart from this, it is quite difficult to believe that as emblematic a member of the nobility as Aemilius was reluctant to run for office, the more so as he had been unsuccessful in an earlier bid for a second consulship (*Aem.* 6.8).

In Plutarch's view, however, the protagonist's personal disinterest in the exercise of power reflects his wisdom and experience as an elder statesman. Significantly, Aemilius' speech establishes a sharp contrast

<sup>82</sup> Note that these words are considerably more pointed than those recorded by Liv. 44.22.2-15 and the fragmentary version in Plb. 29.F1.

<sup>83</sup> See above at n. 14ff.

<sup>84</sup> Although interaction and communication with the people were indispensable, popularity and electoral success did not necessarily require 'popular' policies. Cf., e.g., Yakobson (1999) 184-227 (citing the case of Aemilius on p. 222).

<sup>85</sup> For Plutarch's awareness of these ties cf. *Aem.* 2.5; 5.5-6. See also above at n. 29.



between his erstwhile desire for a first consulship and his readiness to forgo a second one if it turned out that he could not count on the full support of the public (*Aem.* 11.1-2).<sup>86</sup> This attitude is very much in line with the advice given by Plutarch in the treatise *An seni sit gerenda res publica*, in which he assigns a pivotal rôle to experienced politicians yet argues that they should refrain from seeking office and honour for themselves.<sup>87</sup> Certainly, the sixty-year-old Aemilius, who is supposed to have been in the prime (ἀκμᾶζων) of his bodily vigour (*Aem.* 10.2), matches Plutarch's ideal of an elderly champion of the aristocracy whose acumen and authority help to educate the young as well as furthering the well-being of the commonwealth.

Although the ensuing part of the *Life* focuses on Aemilius' campaign in Greece, the biographer does not entirely lose sight of the general's popularity at Rome, calling attention to the great joy among the people when rumours of his victory reached the city (*Aem.* 24.4-6).<sup>88</sup> After his return from the East, the protagonist continues to enjoy popular favour, but at the same time faces opposition from his disaffected soldiers. This interpretive pattern is closely paralleled in Livy, who no less clearly distinguishes between Aemilius' army on the one hand and the *universus populus Romanus* on the other (Liv. 45.37.8; 37.14-38.1). Before specifying the complaints voiced by the legionaries, Plutarch's focus is on the warm welcome extended to the returning general by the people gathering along the Tiber, who are supposed somehow to have enjoyed in advance the triumphal procession (*Aem.* 30.3).<sup>89</sup> By contrast, the soldiers are depicted as maliciously and unjustly seeking to deny him the well-deserved honour of a triumph (*Aem.* 30.4-8).<sup>90</sup> In particular, the most outrageous charges are brought by their leader Servius Galba, who is represented as a shallow demagogue acting out of enmity towards Aemilius.<sup>91</sup>

Subsequently, the assembly dominated by the soldiers and its hostility to Aemilius are contrasted with the attitude both of the rest of the people and of the Senate (*Aem.* 31.1).<sup>92</sup> As indicated above, it is quite remarkable

<sup>86</sup> Cf. *mor.* 197f (*Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata*).

<sup>87</sup> Cf. esp. *mor.* 793a-796c, with the analysis in Desideri (1986) 379-381; also Byl (1977) 113-123.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. also *Aem.* 31.6, as well as Liv. 45.1. On the dramatic effect in Livy's narrative cf. Pittenger (2008) 247-250.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Liv. 45.35.3.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. Liv. 45.35.5-36.5. On the motives of Aemilius' men see below at n. 123ff.

<sup>91</sup> See below at n. 126ff.

<sup>92</sup> Interestingly, Liv. 45.36.7-8 fails to mention the people and focuses on the *principes* only.

that the latter two groups are depicted as sharing the same outlook, given that Plutarch commonly views them as antithetical forces. Still, there are significant differences in the way they make their voices heard. While the multitude is confined to uttering ineffectual cries (ἐν φωνᾷς ἣν ἀπράκτοις), only the leading aristocrats prove capable of intervening decisively. Thus, they are said to have exhorted one another and to have gone up to the Capitol in a body (ἄθροοι) to confront the defiant soldiers (*Aem.* 31.2-3).<sup>93</sup> Acting as guardians of *mos maiorum*, the nobles have the voting stopped, call for silence, and expound their authoritative view to the crowd (*Aem.* 31.3-4).<sup>94</sup>

This view is presented by the distinguished consular M. Servilius, who literally embodies the aristocratic ethos of dutiful service to the state. His speech not only exposes the base and selfish motives of those opposing Aemilius' triumph, but also raises broader issues of authority and obedience in Roman politics. This is especially apparent in the fuller but fragmentary version given by Livy (45.37-39), who cites several *exempla* and lays much stress on the general significance of the debate in terms of Roman honour and glory.<sup>95</sup> Plutarch's account is more concise and at the same time more explicit in contrasting Galba's unwounded and effeminate body with that of Servilius, which bears innumerable scars and deformations attesting to his valour in battle (*Aem.* 31.7-9). Under the impression of the dramatic display of these wounds,<sup>96</sup> the people are supposed to have been educated (πεπαιδευμένους) to judge the virtues and defects of their generals (*Aem.* 31.7). Citing the authority established by his performance, the speaker actually claims the right to supervise the citizens as they cast their vote on Aemilius' triumph (*Aem.* 31.10).<sup>97</sup>

While the rôle assigned to Servilius obviously fits the broader themes of the *Life*, it deserves emphasising that it is not the protagonist himself who educates the people in this instance. Granted, Aemilius had to remain outside the *pomerium* as he was hoping to be awarded a triumph, but the episode once again indicates that his popularity was not sufficient

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Liv. 45.36.7-8, who puts less emphasis on the unity of the leading men but brings out the general implications of the case more strongly.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Liv. 45.36.9-10.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Pittenger (2008) 258-270.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Liv. 45.39.16-19. On the symbolic significance of exhibiting scars in Republican Rome cf. Flaig (1997) 39-42, (2003) 123-136; also Leigh (1995), who analyses the political connotations of the practice. Evans (1999) attempts to show the limitations of the tradition, but underestimates the potentially decisive impact of this kind of appeal.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Liv. 45.39.20.

to make him independent of the support of others. On the contrary, the resolute intervention of the general's peers constitutes a necessary precondition for the unanimous vote in his favour (*Aem.* 32.1). As for the triumphal procession itself, it was of course an excellent opportunity for Aemilius to earn additional esteem and gratitude from the people. Accordingly, Plutarch notes that the triumphator was "gazed upon and deemed worthy of emulation (ζηλωτόν) by all, and envied by no one that was good" (*Aem.* 34.7).<sup>98</sup>

Likewise, the whole people are said to have shared Aemilius' grief when the two sons who had remained in his house died shortly before and after his triumph (*Aem.* 35.3). This remark is followed by the protagonist's second major speech on fortune (*Aem.* 36), which assigns to him the familiar rôle of educating his fellow citizens. As the address is primarily philosophical in tone, it perfectly fits the general picture of a wise statesman who enjoys universal recognition and somehow remains aloof from everyday bickering. In fact, it is remarkable that, beyond generic references to the dissent of morally inferior colleagues and demagogues, Plutarch fails to provide any specific information about Aemilius' involvement in political controversies or legal disputes.<sup>99</sup>

This line of interpretation emerges most clearly from the penultimate chapter of the *Life*, which takes a broader look at Aemilius' political career and affiliation. Once again, Plutarch highlights his subject's extraordinary popularity (δημοτικωτάτην ... χάριν), citing the huge amount of money that was brought into the public treasury as a result of the victory over Perseus (*Aem.* 38.1).<sup>100</sup> After that, the biographer neatly sums up his view of the protagonist's rôle in Roman domestic politics:

And this, too, was peculiar and remarkable in Aemilius, that although he was revered and honoured by the people beyond measure, he remained a member of the aristocratic party (ἐπὶ τῆς ἀριστοκρατικῆς μεῖναι προαιρέσεως), and neither said nor did anything to win the favour of the multitude (χάριτι τῶν πολλῶν), but always sided in political matters with the first and most powerful men (*Aem.* 38.2).

Following this statement, Aemilius' attitude is contrasted with that of Scipio Aemilianus, who went to great lengths to enlist the support of the

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Liv. 45.40.4, who highlights the aura of *maiestas* created by Aemilius' *dignitas* and advanced age.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. esp. *Aem.* 3.4-7, with the discussion above at n. 14ff. Note that Liv. 38.44.11-47.1 cites Aemilius as one of the principal opponents of Manlius Vulso's triumph in 187.

<sup>100</sup> On the size of the booty seized in the war cf. Müller (2009) 440-452.

people and therefore came under attack from Appius Claudius (*cos.* 143) in the campaign for the censorship of 142 (*Aem.* 38.3-5).<sup>101</sup> This controversy may go a long way towards explaining Aemilius' favourable record in the historical tradition, though it is quite unclear whether it was Scipio himself or his opponents who tried to use the war hero's idealised image to their advantage in the first place. While Plutarch reports that Appius sought to represent Scipio's reliance on popular favour as unworthy of his father, it should not be overlooked that the sources generally give the impression of a close and cordial relationship between Aemilius and his son.<sup>102</sup> Accordingly, there can be no serious doubt that the latter referred to his father's qualities and achievements as part of his aristocratic self-image, perhaps even to reassure the public that his far-flung ambitions were rooted in a 'conservative' tradition. In that case, Appius would have attempted to subvert Scipio's own propaganda, yet this is a matter of speculation and will not lead much further.<sup>103</sup>

Be that as it may, it ought to be emphasised that it is not Aemilius himself but his son who is depicted as being involved in political rivalry. Consequently, the father's image not only remains untarnished, but actually gains further lustre due to his being favourably compared with the great Scipio Africanus Minor:<sup>104</sup> while the latter's popularity rests on his association with the common people, the traditionally-minded Aemilius is said to have been

no less loved by the many (ὕπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἡγαπᾶτο) than the one who seemed to be most inclined to resort to demagoguery (δημαγωγεῖν) and to seek their favour (πρὸς χάριν) in his dealings with them (*Aem.* 38.6).

Unlike Scipio, who eventually becomes the target of slander, Aemilius is supposed to reach the censorship as a natural consequence of his universal popularity. Plutarch duly takes the opportunity to explain the powers

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Plut., *mor.* 810b (*Praecepta gerendae rei publicae*).

<sup>102</sup> Cf., e.g., Plb. 31.F25.10; Plut., *Aem.* 22.3, and the discussion in Harders (2008) 115-118. Barzanò (1994) 419-423, (1996) 112-116, questions the standard view of a harmonious relationship between the two, but still admits the possibility of "una duplice origine di questa idealizzazione [*scil.* of Aemilius]: una più cauta, riferibile appunto a Scipione e alla sua cerchia e una, invece, decisamente più entusiasta, ... proveniente da quei circoli conservatori ai quali in effetti egli stesso [*scil.* Aemilius] aveva appartenuto in vita" (1996, p. 116).

<sup>103</sup> The idea of two forces behind Aemilius' positive image is Barzanò's (see previous note).

<sup>104</sup> Note that the reader has been reminded of Scipio's outstanding gifts and achievements at *Aem.* 22.3-8.

and duties assigned to the office, most notably the *regimen morum*, which evidently ties in with the protagonist's characteristic concern for discipline and ancestral customs (*Aem.* 38.7-8). As for Aemilius' policies, they serve further to reinforce the stress on his dignity and detachment from political strife: apart from confirming the experienced Aemilius Lepidus (*cos.* 187, 175) as *princeps senatus*, he shows moderation (ἐμετρίασεν) in the treatment of his peers, only three of whom are expelled from the Senate (*Aem.* 38.9). The overall impression thus created is one of harmony and tranquillity, which stands in marked contrast to the earlier chapters with their focus on Aemilius' severity towards his contemporaries. The reader may conclude that Plutarch's hero has finally succeeded in reforming his fellow citizens.

The very last chapter of the *Life* fittingly underscores the protagonist's immense popularity with the people, who are said to have longed for him (ἐπόθησαν) when he was absent from the city to recover from a serious illness (*Aem.* 39.2). This is followed by expressions of delight in response to the offering of public sacrifice shortly before his death (*Aem.* 39.4). Finally, Plutarch gives a highly laudatory account of Aemilius' funeral, relating that it was marked by amazement (θαυμασμόν) and a desire to adorn his virtue with the best and most appropriate obsequies (*Aem.* 39.6). As has been seen in the previous section, the episode mainly focuses on Aemilius' popularity among foreigners, yet the biographer also notes the goodwill and gratitude of the protagonist's fellow citizens (*Aem.* 39.7).<sup>105</sup>

While the *Life* as a whole — and its final chapters in particular — depicts Aemilius as a wise statesman who admirably manages to bridge the gulf between the aristocracy and the common people, it should not be overlooked that there are also some scattered indications of antagonism and conflict. Thus, the first chapters not only imply that the protagonist was different from his peers, but also hint at disagreements with the other augurs (*Aem.* 3.4) as well as highlighting Aemilius' hostility to unidentified demagogues (2.6; 3.6-7; 10-11). What is more, it has been seen that his popularity was by no means uncontested, given that the support of others was crucial in securing his election to a second consulship (10.2) and in overcoming the opposition to his triumph over Perseus (31). In this context, it also needs to be pointed out that the idea of neatly separating the dissatisfied soldiers from the rest of the people is quite misleading, as will emerge more clearly in the next section.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. also Diod. 31.F25.1.

Notwithstanding these important qualifications, the extant references to Aemilius' public appeal should not be dismissed as mere fiction. Whatever the circumstances, he was sufficiently popular to win two consulships and, later on, to evolve into a paradigmatic figure of political authority. However, it is clear that among his contemporaries there was much less consensus about his policies and achievements than Plutarch's readers are led to believe. Upon closer analysis, Aemilius' career shows a rather more complex pattern of success and failure in managing relations with the other nobles and with the people at large.

#### 4. AEMILIUS AND MILITARY LEADERSHIP

Beyond political affairs at Rome, the protagonist's aristocratic outlook is also fundamental to Plutarch's depiction of his relationship with the soldiers. As has been indicated in section 1, the theme of military discipline is established early in the narrative along with that of religious conservatism (*Aem.* 3.6-7).<sup>106</sup> Thus, the biographer stresses that Aemilius was averse to demagoguery (οὐ δημαγωγῶν), refusing to gratify (χαρίζεσθαι) the soldiers and to treat them with mildness (πρᾶος εἶναι), but being a terror (φοβερός) to disobedient transgressors. On one level, this attitude is commended on the grounds that it serves the interests of the state; on another, it appears to be vindicated throughout the *Life* by Aemilius' outstanding record as a military commander. While it is open to doubt whether the biographer's praise is actually justified,<sup>107</sup> the present section is not concerned with the quality of Aemilius' generalship, but with the representation of his leadership.

The theme of the protagonist's severity towards his men is continued at the beginning of the campaign against Perseus. Having asserted his supreme authority in the aforementioned speech to the people at Rome (*Aem.* 11), Aemilius is described as restoring order and discipline among the legionaries in the Greek theatre of war (*Aem.* 13.6).<sup>108</sup> At this point, Plutarch depicts the soldiers as unruly due to their former licence, noting that they were greatly vexed and suggested many impracticable things. Consequently, Aemilius is said to have rebuked them, telling them to be

<sup>106</sup> See above at n. 17.

<sup>107</sup> Note the extremely negative assessment in Barzanò (1994) 411-412, (1996) 104-105.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. *Galb.* 1.2; *mor.* 198a (*Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata*).

concerned about nothing but their readiness for action.<sup>109</sup> In Livy's account, the consul even delivers a short speech on soldierly obedience, which the legionaries themselves are reported to have deemed highly instructive and motivating (Liv. 44.34.1-9). Thus, not only the citizens in the capital, but also the men in the field are supposed to be in need of Aemilius' censure and guidance.

During the following campaign, Plutarch keeps highlighting the consul's competence and clear-sighted leadership, which is further underlined by the contrast with the alleged incapacity of his predecessors (*Aem.* 7.1; 9.1-4).<sup>110</sup> Accordingly, Aemilius' successes are explicitly attributed to ability rather than mere luck (*Aem.* 12.2). Apart from identifying sources of good drinking water for his men (*Aem.* 14.1-2),<sup>111</sup> he is reported to have devised a clever strategy of encirclement, which was to be carried out by Scipio Nasica (*Aem.* 15.2-16.3).<sup>112</sup> Moreover, the biographer credits Aemilius with understanding the lunar eclipse that occurred on the eve of the decisive struggle (*Aem.* 17.9), whereas the parallel account in Livy suggests that it was his officer Sulpicius Gallus who anticipated the phenomenon and explained it to the soldiers (Liv. 44.37.5-8).<sup>113</sup> Without even mentioning Gallus' rôle, Plutarch uses the episode to illustrate the protagonist's piety, citing the large number of sacrifices offered during the night and on the following day (*Aem.* 17.10-12).<sup>114</sup>

The account of the battle of Pydna, too, contains quite a few references to Aemilius' qualities as a leader. Before the onset of the fight, the general is depicted as cleverly waiting until the sun no longer shines in the faces of his men (*Aem.* 17.13), and in the end he may actually have chosen the moment of the beginning of the struggle (*Aem.* 18.1-2).<sup>115</sup> As noted above, Plutarch then likens Aemilius to a pilot, pointing out that he inspired the troops with courage both before and during the battle (*Aem.* 18.3; 19.3).<sup>116</sup> This emphasis is paralleled in Livy, who reports that the consul made a strong impression on his men, above all due to his

<sup>109</sup> Interestingly, the text refers to the Roman fashion (*ῥωμαϊκῶς*) of using the sword.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. also *Aem.* 11.2; *mor.* 197f (*Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata*).

<sup>111</sup> Cf. Liv. 44.33.1-4, with a concluding reference to the consequent increase in Aemilius' *fama* and *auctoritas* with the soldiers.

<sup>112</sup> On Nasica's own account of the operation cf. Lehmann (1969) 389-397.

<sup>113</sup> Cf. Cic., *rep.* 1.23; Val. Max 8.11.1; Plin., *nat.* 2.53. Also note Plb. 29.F16.

<sup>114</sup> According to Lehmann (1969) 399-401, this is based on Nasica's version.

<sup>115</sup> Note that Liv. 44.40.3 suggests the intervention of Fortune. Tatum (2010) 457-458 argues that Plutarch deliberately rejected this reading.

<sup>116</sup> See above at n. 47-48.



advanced age, which did not prevent him from undergoing toil and danger (Liv. 44.41.1). Beyond this, Plutarch suggests that there was divine interference in response to Aemilius' prayers rather than to those of his cowardly opponent (*Aem.* 19.6). Finally, the decisive breakthrough against the Macedonian phalanx is attributed to an order issued by the general himself due to his careful observation of the battlefield (*Aem.* 20.7-10).

Notwithstanding the crucial rôle played by Aemilius, Plutarch also gives much prominence to some of his officers. Apart from describing in detail the aforementioned operation under Nasica, who is also cited as a source for the battle of Pydna (18.4-5),<sup>117</sup> the biographer records the valour of a certain Salvius (20.1), of Cato's eldest son (21.1-5), and of Scipio Aemilianus (22.7).<sup>118</sup> Rather than diminishing the praise extended to their commander, the daring of these men serves to underscore the sagacity of the more circumspect consul. At one point, Aemilius is reported to have rejected the bold advice of his young officers, who were urging him to give battle, after due consideration with himself (πρὸς ἑαυτὸν συλλογιζόμενος), thus demonstrating the wisdom of old age (*Aem.* 17.1-4).<sup>119</sup> The episode culminates in Aemilius' reply to Nasica, which is designed to instruct the latter in military tactics and leadership — a theme that is continued with regard to moral questions in the subsequent speech on fortune (*Aem.* 27).<sup>120</sup> Moreover, both in this instance and during the battle of Pydna (*Aem.* 19.2-3), the commander is credited with choosing the right course of action even whilst being amazed at the sight of the enemy. Again, however, this is not merely due to Plutarch's emphasis; for Livy's account, too, puts much stress on the general's superior knowledge and authority.<sup>121</sup>

While Aemilius' officers receive a fair amount of attention in the biographer's narrative, the problems surrounding his relationship with the rank and file are largely ignored until the very end of the campaign, when the soldiers' grievances surface in the debate about his triumph. To be sure, Plutarch repeatedly describes his hero as a stern disciplinarian (*Aem.* 3.6-7; 13.6), yet the relevant passages focus on the commander's efforts to instruct the legionaries in military customs rather than on

<sup>117</sup> On Nasica's account of the battle cf. Lehmann (1969) 401-405.

<sup>118</sup> Cato's son: cf. *Cat. Ma.* 20.10-11; *Iust.* 33.2.1-4; *Val. Max.* 3.2.16; Scipio: cf. the less colourful treatment in Liv. 44.44.3; also *Diod.* 30.F22; *vir. ill.* 58.1.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. *mor.* 198a-b (*Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata*).

<sup>120</sup> See above at n. 45.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. Liv. 44.36.12-14 (reply to Nasica) and 38-39 (speech to the *consilium*), with the discussion in Chaplin (2000) 116-117; also Pittenger (2008) 257.

their actual or potential resentment. On the contrary, Aemilius' appears to be very much in control of his men and generally succeeds in spurring them to action, thus giving the impression of a perfectly functioning relationship. What is more, Plutarch evidently approves of the protagonist's leadership without reservation, whereas in other *Lives* he is much more concerned about the soldiers' sentiments and their commanders' difficulties in winning their affection.<sup>122</sup>

Consequently, the legionaries' bitterness after their return to Rome comes as a surprise to the reader, who is bound to feel the injustice of their complaints, given that Plutarch does his utmost to represent them as unfair and unreasonable.<sup>123</sup> To begin with, he claims that the real motive for the troops' ill will was selfish greed; for unlike Aemilius, who allegedly refused even to look at the royal treasures (*Aem.* 28.10), the soldiers are said to have cast longing glances at the enemy's wealth, feeling that they had obtained too small a share of the profits (*Aem.* 30.4).<sup>124</sup> Whether or not the legionaries had reason to be dissatisfied with the material side of the war is, of course, quite difficult to establish. Plutarch merely indicates that they were allowed to pillage the cities of Epirus but ended up receiving no more than 11 drachmas per head (*Aem.* 29.5). According to Livy, however, the booty was so great that a generous distribution could be made, amounting to 200 *denarii* for each foot soldier and 400 for each cavalryman (*Liv.* 45.34.5-6).<sup>125</sup>

Be that as it may, Plutarch suggests that the complaints voiced in public were quite different, focusing on Aemilius' harsh (βαρύς) and despotic (δεσποτικός) way of exercising command (*Aem.* 30.4). This may well be what many of the soldiers felt, yet such a negative view of the general's severity is obviously contrary to the biographer's own judgement. To make matters worse, the legionaries' resentment is said to have further been inflamed by the demagoguery of Servius Galba, whose credibility is compromised by the fact that he is introduced as a personal

<sup>122</sup> Consider, e.g., the *Lucullus*, with the analysis in Tröster (2008) 105-126. De Blois (1992) 4592-4593 duly notes the structural similarity to the *Aemilius*.

<sup>123</sup> The same may be said of Livy. Cf. Pittenger (2008) 251-258.

<sup>124</sup> Cf. *Liv.* 45.35.6.

<sup>125</sup> Hammond (1967) 635 with n. 1 argues that both Livy's and Plutarch's figures are accurate (cf. also Liedmeier (1935) 240-242), one referring to distributions, the other to movables seized by the pillaging troops. This is not impossible, but the fact remains that the two sources widely diverge in their (moral) interpretations. Also note Pittenger (2008) 254, who suspects scribal errors, and Müller (2009) 450-452, who is inclined to disbelieve Livy's version. In addition, *Liv.* 45.40.5 records a major distribution on the occasion of Aemilius' triumph.

enemy of Aemilius' (*Aem.* 30.5).<sup>126</sup> In actual fact, Galba's opposition may well be related to a conflict between his relative Sulpicius Gallus and the supreme commander over the merit of having instructed the army about the lunar eclipse prior to the battle of Pydna.<sup>127</sup> Nothing of this is mentioned by Plutarch, though, who reports that Galba delivered a long speech full of empty slander (*Aem.* 30.7).<sup>128</sup>

The lack of content in Galba's harangue contrasts sharply with the subsequent speech by M. Servilius, the political side of which has been discussed in the preceding section.<sup>129</sup> Carrying the moral weight and dignity of the speaker's honourable scars, this address gives the authoritative interpretation of Aemilius' military achievements and his relationship with the soldiers. Thus, Servilius asserts

that he knew now better than ever before how great a commander Aemilius Paullus was, when he saw how full of disobedience and baseness (*ἀπειθείας ... καὶ κακίας*) the army was which he had used in the successful accomplishment of such fair and great exploits (*Aem.* 31.4).<sup>130</sup>

Instead of raising doubts about the merits of their general, the soldiers' complaints only serve to prove him right and hence to confirm his greatness. A similar argument is deployed at the end of the speech, when those voting against Aemilius' triumph are denounced as

base and thankless (*κακούς καὶ ἀχαρίστους*) and preferring to be led in war by demagogues rather than by commanders (*δημαγωγεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἢ στρατηγεῖσθαι βουλομένους*) (*Aem.* 31.10).<sup>131</sup>

Evidently, this represents a highly tendentious reading of Aemilius' record as a military leader. Whatever their motives, Galba and a fair share of the legionaries obviously disagreed, yet they are effectively denied a voice in the extant tradition. Interestingly, the *synkrisis* presents them again as well-disciplined soldiers, pointing out that they were experienced in war and accustomed to being commanded (*ἐμπειροπολέμοις καὶ μεμαθηκόσιν ἄρχεσθαι*), very much unlike the troops fielded by Timoleon (*Tim.* 40.4). At this point, the legionaries' dramatic challenge to Aemilius' authority

<sup>126</sup> Cf. Liv. 45.35.8; also 37.1.

<sup>127</sup> Cf. Barzanò (1994) 408-411, (1996) 101-104. On the lunar eclipse see above at n. 113.

<sup>128</sup> Cf. Liv. 45.36.3-5; also 37.6-7.

<sup>129</sup> See above at n. 95ff.

<sup>130</sup> Cf. Liv. 45.37.1-2.

<sup>131</sup> The end of Livy's version is lost, but note the defence of Aemilius' *severitas* at 45.37.9-13.

seems to be forgotten, which ironically leads to a certain devaluation of his military achievements as compared to those of his Greek pair. Still, Aemilius' image as an astute strategist and much-respected champion of traditional discipline remains intact. However one-sided this appraisal may be, it neatly ties in with the larger theme of his rôle as an educator who instructs his contemporaries no less than the readers of the *Lives*.

## 5. CONCLUSION

Both at Rome and abroad, Plutarch's Aemilius excels in his various rôles as priest, politician, and general. His attachment to Roman tradition, his moral wisdom, and his magnanimous philanthropy enable him not only to accomplish great exploits, but also to educate his less virtuous contemporaries. As a result, the portrait of Aemilius is in some respects less realistic and arguably less intriguing than those of the majority of Plutarch's heroes, who generally exhibit a more complex combination of positive and negative traits.<sup>132</sup> In the case of the victor of Pydna, the modern reader may thus get the feeling of coming to know a contrived paradigm of ancestral morality rather than a real-life figure.<sup>133</sup>

Evidently, much of this is due to the biographer's use of the well-established image of Aemilius as an exemplary champion of *mos maiorum*. In many ways, this tradition must have appealed to Plutarch, who actually shares most of the aristocratic values and ideas represented by his subject. Thus, the biographer's source material provided plenty of stimuli for adaptation and elaboration, such as the theme of Aemilius' efforts to instruct the young, the emphasis on his piety and self-control, and the problem of asserting élite authority vis-à-vis the multitude of citizens and soldiers. All of these features figure more or less prominently in the earlier tradition, but it is clear that Plutarch chose to adjust and amplify them to suit his compositional design. While these adaptations are obviously significant, they also tend to be limited in scope; for despite his inclination to de- and recontextualise the information at his

<sup>132</sup> Cf. the references cited in n. 6.

<sup>133</sup> Cf., e.g., Swain (1989) 319: "a model rather than a man". On Plutarch's general practice of presenting "integrated" characters with particular and fairly stable virtues and vices cf. Pelling (1988), esp. 257-263/(2002) 283-288, (1990) 224-244/(2002) 307-321. Pelling partly builds on the distinction between a moral "character-viewpoint" and an empathetic "personality-viewpoint" as developed by Gill (1983), with further refinement in (1990) 1-9, (1996) 1-18, and additional observations in Pelling (2002) 321-329.

disposal, the biographer usually refrains from fabricating evidence on a large scale.<sup>134</sup>

In contrast to his constant praise for Aemilius, Plutarch's depiction of mid-Republican Rome is rather ambivalent. At several points, the biographer appears to subscribe to the conventional view of the Middle Republic as a golden age of order and morality, suggesting that it was a time of great men (*Aem.* 2.5) and great virtue among the people (11.4), when

the Romans were, all alike, well disciplined (εὐτακτοί), subject to customs (ὑποχείριοι τοῖς ἔθισμοῖς), and respectful of the laws and magistrates (τοὺς νόμους δεδιότες καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας) (*Tim.* 41.2).

Accordingly, Aemilius' high moral standards can be seen as a natural consequence of the excellent condition of his country (*Tim.* 41.1). From this perspective, it seems only fitting to view him as a figure of consensus who is held in high regard both by his peers and by the people at large. Interestingly, this state of affairs is supposed to have changed in the subsequent generation, when Scipio Aemilianus clashed with some of the more 'conservative' representatives of the nobility (*Aem.* 38.3-5).

However, Plutarch also indicates that there were serious defects and shortcomings in the society of Aemilius' day. Thus, at the outset of his career, the protagonist chooses to be different not only from the flatterers and demagogues, but also from the majority of the young nobles (*Aem.* 2.5-6). What is more, Aemilius' fellow citizens are depicted as being constantly in need of moral guidance and instruction (*Aem.* 3 and *passim*). Consequently, it may appear that it is not the *res publica* as a whole but only the protagonist himself who lives in accordance with the imperatives of *mos maiorum*. In fact, many of Aemilius' contemporaries, both at Rome and beyond, serve as foils for his superior qualities and achievements, thus making him shine all the more brightly as a paradigm of virtue, wisdom, and integrity of character. While Plutarch is unwavering in his admiration for Aemilius, his view of mid-Republican Rome can be adapted to different contexts, sometimes heightening the praise extended to the protagonist and at other times adding to the blame attributed to his rivals and enemies.

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<sup>134</sup> Cf., in this sense, the fundamental studies by Pelling (1979), (1980), (1990a).

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## LA DATAZIONE DELL'*EPITOMA REI MILITARIS* E LA GENESI DELL'ESERCITO TARDOROMANO

LA POLITICA MILITARE DI TEODOSIO I,  
VEG. R. MIL. 1.20.2-5 E TEODOSIO II

*Abstract:* Dating the *Epitoma rei militaris* and identifying the emperor the work is dedicated to form a lively topic that is still open to debate. Here the scholars of Late Antiquity will find a new approach to the issue. A systematic cross-check of the *Epitoma* against other authors (mainly Ammianus Marcellinus and Mauricius), a careful examination of the iconographical sources and a thorough reading of the *Notitia Dignitatum Orientis* bring evidence that infantry downgrade and cavalry rise were choices Theodosius I is to blame for, represented features specific to the Eastern army and mirrored changes made long before Vegetius. The whole of the analysis leads to ground-breaking results: the *Epitoma rei militaris* was written about 435 in the Eastern Roman Empire and dedicated to Theodosius II. This hypothesis seems to match up with many points of the work.

Sed in hac parte antiqua penitus consuetudo deleta est; nam licet exemplo Gothorum et Alanorum Hunnorumque equitum arma profecerint, pedites constat esse nudatos. Ab urbe enim condita usque ad tempus diui Gratiani et catafractis et galeis muniebatur pedestris exercitus. Sed cum campestris exercitatio interueniente neglegentia desidiaque cessaret, grauius uideri arma coeperunt, quae raro milites induebant; itaque ab imperatore postulant primo catafractas, deinde cassides se deponere [refundere Reeve]. Sic detectis pectoribus et capitibus congressi contra Gothos milites nostri multitudine sagittariorum saepe deleti sunt; nec post tot clades, quae usque ad tantarum urbium excidia peruenerunt, cuiquam curae fuit uel catafractas uel galeas pedestribus reddere.

Per quanto riguarda la cronologia di Vegezio e dell'*Epitoma rei militaris*, due sole date sono certe, cioè 383 e 450 d.C.; la prima si ricava dal testo stesso dell'opera (la menzione del *diuus* Graziano implica necessariamente una composizione posteriore alla sua morte), la seconda è offerta dalla *subscriptio* di alcuni manoscritti, che ricordano l'*emendatio sine exemplario* di un certo Flavius Eutropius avvenuta a Costantinopoli appunto nel 450. Gli studiosi moderni oscillano tra varie ipotesi di datazione. L'età e la figura di Teodosio I attualmente riscuotono la maggioranza dei favori, ma Valentiniano III attira opinioni meglio argomentate e molto più persuasive; inoltre c'è chi propende per Valentiniano II o Onorio<sup>1</sup>. Il presente studio attraverso un'indagine metodica delle fonti

<sup>1</sup> Charles (2007) 18-21.

scritte e iconografiche, dando speciale rilievo ai dati disponibili sulla fanteria romana della Tarda Antichità, suggerisce una prospettiva totalmente nuova, che individua il colpevole dei *pedites nudati* in Teodosio I e il destinatario dell'opera in Teodosio II. Il cammino delle argomentazioni prenderà le mosse da un punto remoto, più precisamente dal 351 d.C.

Giuliano tramanda una descrizione sommaria dello schieramento, che diede la vittoria a Costanzo II sull'usurpatore Magnenzio nella sanguinosissima battaglia di Mursa; Costanzo pose alle ali tutta la cavalleria, al centro tutta la fanteria, entrambe dispiegate su due linee<sup>2</sup>. La prima linea di entrambe le ali erano i *cataphractarii/clibanarii* (οἱ μὲν εἰσιν αἰχμοφόροι, θώραξιν ἔλατοῖς καὶ κράνεσιν ἐκ σιδήρου πεποιημένοις σκεπόμενοι· κνεμῖδές τε τοῖς σφυροῖς εὖ μάλα περιηρμοσμένοι καὶ περιγονατίδες καὶ περὶ τοῖς μηροῖς ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ἐκ σιδήρου καλύμματα [...] οὐδὲν ἄσπίδος δεόμενοι), la seconda era costituita dalla cavalleria d'urto e dagli arcieri a cavallo (τῶν ἄλλων ἱππέων πλῆθος ἄσπίδας φέροντες, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱππῶν τοξεύοντες). Al centro la fanteria si ripartiva in modo analogo; i fanti dotati di corazza e scudo (ὄπλιται = le *legiones comitatenses* e gli *auxilia \*comitatensia* d'assalto<sup>3</sup>) erano posti in prima linea, mentre arcieri, frombolieri e lanciatori di giavellotto, privi di armatura e scudo (οἱ σφενδονῆται καὶ τοξόται καὶ ὀπόσον ἐκ χειρὸς βάλλει γυμνὸν ἄσπίδος καὶ θώρακος = gli *auxilia \*comitatensia* specializzati nel combattimento a distanza), erano schierati in seconda linea. Purtroppo i semplici nomi degli *auxilia*, che sono menzionati da Ammiano Marcellino o elencati nella *Notitia Dignitatum*, non sono sufficienti a permetterci di distinguere tra le due specialità della fanteria leggera<sup>4</sup>.

Uno studioso francese, Sylvain Janniard, ha creduto di individuare “une catégorie particulière de troupes, mieux armée que le reste des combattants”, gli *armati*, nella narrazione storiografica di Ammiano Marcellino; essi soli sarebbero gli ὄπλιται di Giuliano<sup>5</sup>. Ma egli sembra ignorare totalmente uno stilema tipico di Ammiano, cioè la uariatio<sup>6</sup>; Ammiano in realtà impiega sempre l'aggettivo sostantivato *armatus/armati* come semplice e tradizionale sinonimo di *miles/milites*. Janniard accorda grande peso alla locuzione ammiana *armatarum cohortium*

<sup>2</sup> Iul., *Or.* 3.57B-D.

<sup>3</sup> L'espressione ὄπλιτης πεζός ha questo significato anche in Iul., *Or.* 3.56A.

<sup>4</sup> L'unica eccezione potrebbero essere gli *Exculcatores sen. e iun.* con gli *Exculcatores iun. Britannici* (*Not. Dign. Occ.* 5.173, 175, 207): cfr. Veg., *r. mil.* 2.15.6 *Post hos erant ferentarii et levis armatura, quos nunc exculcatores et armaturas dicimus.*

<sup>5</sup> Janniard (2004) 389-395.

<sup>6</sup> Hagendahl (1921) 99-138.

*globi*, che compare in due passi associata all'imperatore. Ma l'espressione *armatae cohortes* figura già nei modelli letterari di Ammiano ed è un prestito linguistico<sup>7</sup>; inoltre essa risulta essere anche una forma di uariatio, che in questo caso prende corpo attraverso la sostituzione del genitivo epesegetico con una perifrasi contenente il correlato aggettivo. *Armatae cohortes*, come già nei modelli di Ammiano, significa semplicemente *armatarum cohortes*; *armatarum cohortium globi* ha valore sinonimico rispetto alle locuzioni *multitudo armorum*, *armatorum agmina*, *agmina diuersorum ordinum* e *multitudo castrensium ordinum*, poiché tutte e quattro ricoprono sempre il medesimo ruolo grammaticale (complemento di causa efficiente) e compaiono sempre nel medesimo contesto sintattico-lessicale (dipendenza dai ppp attributivi *saeptus* e *stipatus*)<sup>8</sup>. L'espressione ridondante *cohortium globi* pertiene a un altro stilema di Ammiano, più precisamente l'abundantia, che qui compare sotto forma di un genetiuus identitatis<sup>9</sup>; in questi passi e altrove *cohors/cohortes* è sinonimo del termine tecnico *numerus/numeri*<sup>10</sup>. Per quanto riguarda la sostituzione del genitivo epesegetico con il corrispondente aggettivo, qui basta citare l'esempio perfettamente omologo della interscambiabilità tra le espressioni *equestris turma*<sup>11</sup> ed *equitum turma*<sup>12</sup>, entrambe sinonimi del termine tecnico *uexillatio*. Anche in altre locuzioni l'agg. *armatus* sostituisce il genitivo epesegetico *armatarum*<sup>13</sup>; altrimenti esso ha il normale significato in *armis/cum armis*<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Liv. 6.24.2 e 28.45.20; Tac., *Ann.* 3.43.1 e 16.27.1; Suet., *Ner.* 13.1. Sulla cultura letteraria e i prestiti linguistici di Ammiano cfr. ora Colombo (1999) 31-35 e n. 39.

<sup>8</sup> Amm. 20.5.1 *saeptusque tutius armatarum cohortium globis* e 25.1.16 *stipatus armatarum cohortium globis* (Janniard cita erroneamente anche 24.4.18, dove troviamo il semplice *armati*): 21.13.6 *multitudine stipatus armorum*; 22.2.4 *stipatusque armatorum et togatorum agminibus*; 26.2.12 *agminibusque diuersorum ordinum ambitiose stipatum* e 6.16 *multitudine stipatus armorum*; 30.3.5 *saeptus ipse quoque multitudine castrensium ordinum*. Cfr. inoltre 15.5.31 *armatarum globus*; 16.10.4 *stipatusque agminibus formidandis*; 10.8 *ordo geminus armatarum*; 12.28 *Caesar ducentis equitibus saeptus*; 17.13.10 *Cohors praetoria ex aduerso Augustum cautius stipans*; 24.1.13 *imperator nunc antesignanus, nunc agminibus cogendis insistens cum expeditis uelitibus*; 2.14 *cuneatim stipatus*; 4.3 *stipatus uelitibus paucis*; 6.9 *ipse cum leuis armaturae auxiliis per prima postremaque discurrens*.

<sup>9</sup> Hagendahl (1924) 192-202.

<sup>10</sup> Colombo (1999) 53.

<sup>11</sup> Amm. 15.4.10; 16.11.6 e 12.7; 17.6.3; 18.6.16 e 9.4; 21.6.6; 24.4.9.

<sup>12</sup> Amm. 16.12.36; 21.11.2; 26.7.9; 31.12.2. Cfr. anche Colombo (1999) 51-52.

<sup>13</sup> Amm. 20.8.10 e 9.6; 21.7.5 (altri esempi in n. 15). Cfr. anche l'uso del ppp in 21.11.3 (abl. assoluto); 31.6.3 (congiunto) e 7.14 (attributivo).

<sup>14</sup> Amm. 19.6.12; 20.6.2; 24.2.8 e 4.14; 30.1.13; 31.12.9. Inoltre l'agg. *armatus* in 25.4.7 *armatae rei scientissimus et togatae* è chiaro sinonimo dell'agg. *militaris*. Amm. 30.1.13 *cum biuium armato milite uidisset oppletum* è un evidente prestito da Verg. *Aen.*



Tale accezione figura anche in HA, *Hadr.* 10.4 e *Seu. Alex.* 50.3, così come in *Pan. Lat.* 2.40.3 e 12.5.3 Mynors, che Janniard cita a sostegno della sua tesi. Si noti che *Pan. Lat.* 12.5.3 Mynors *milites [...] paulo ante Romani, armis omnibus more primae classis armati* da un lato contiene un'allusione erudita a Liv. 1.43.1-3, dall'altro conferma che al principio del IV secolo tutta la fanteria romana ancora indossava la tradizionale dotazione di armi difensive; infatti questo passo, per esaltare la vittoria di Costantino nella guerra civile con Massenzio, contrappone capziosamente il valore e l'equipaggiamento dei soldati massenziani al carattere e alle armi dei popoli sottomessi da Alessandro Magno: *Et ille quidem contra leues Medos et imbelles Syros et Parthorum arma uolatrica et Asiaticos optantes mutare seruitium rem gessit proelii unius euentu.*

Infine le saltuarie occorrenze dell'aggettivo sostantivato *armati* anche per i soldati persiani<sup>15</sup>, così come per Alamanni e Goti<sup>16</sup>, dimostrano che esso non possiede un valore speciale e distintivo, né individua una categoria particolare di soldati romani: purtroppo Janniard non ha tenuto nessun conto del contesto narrativo e ha liberamente mescolato queste occorrenze di *armati* alle altre. L'aggettivo sostantivato *armatus/armati* è il più frequente dei tre sinonimi<sup>17</sup>, con cui Ammiano sostituisce il consueto e ordinario *miles/milites* per i soldati romani<sup>18</sup>. Si noti che su trentaquattro occorrenze di *armatus/armati* con questa accezione ben sedici sono genitivi plurali; se includiamo anche Persiani e barbari, le occorrenze diventano rispettivamente quarantadue e venti: questo dettaglio illustra la motivazione linguistica, che determinò la scelta ammiana di

2.19-20 *penitusque cauernas / ingentis utrumque armato milite complent*; 31.12.9 *armatum [...] exercitum* ha un'origine omologa, ma la fonte resta indefinita, dato che questa espressione ricorre in parecchi *auctores* di Ammiano: Cic., *Pro Caec.* 43 e *Pro Sest.* 52; Liv. 4.56.6; 7.42.5; 23.9.7; 25.17.5; Curt. 8.12.7 e 9.5.30; Tac., *Hist.* 3.83.3; Gell. 10.15.4; Iust. 3.1.7 e 13.4.8 (v. n. 7).

<sup>15</sup> Amm. 19.2.3 e 6.11; 20.7.16 e 11.18; 24.4.4; 25.3.12 (riferito indistintamente a Persiani e Romani). Cfr. anche 18.8.3 *uiginti milia fere Persarum [...] armata = uiginti milia armatorum*; 20.7.13 *armata inruit multitudo = armatorum multitudo*; 24.4.31 *cum optimatibus et multitudine armata = multitudine armatorum*.

<sup>16</sup> Alamanni: Amm. 16.12.26-27 (cfr. anche 31.10.5 *cum quadraginta armorum milibus uel septuaginta] armorum* FKYUCQWHT *armatorum* ENA). Goti: 31.4.9.

<sup>17</sup> Gli altri sono *bellator* (Amm. 14.2.18; 16.11.12 e 12.22; 24.1.15; 26.8.9; 27.10.16) e *pugnator* (17.13.17).

<sup>18</sup> Amm. 14.2.15; 7.13; 11.20; 15.4.8 e 5.31; 16.4.2; 10.8; 11.2; 12.2; 17.9.3 e 10.6 (*armatorum] armorum* V Seyfarth, *armatorum* G Clark); 19.8.4; 20.4.22; 21.12.9-10 e 16.3; 22.2.4 e 4.6; 24.2.9; 4.18; 4.24; 6.4; 7.4 e 6; 25.3.12 e 4.12; 26.1.6 e 8.9; 27.6.12; 29.5.29 e 56; 31.5.9; 10.13; 15.10. Le occorrenze di *miles/milites* riferito a barbari e Persiani sono soltanto tre: 16.12.24 (Chnodomarius); 18.6.4 (soldati persiani); 19.7.8 (Shapur II).

sostituire talvolta il genitivo plurale con il corrispondente aggettivo. Anche il termine greco ὅπλιται è un mero sinonimo di πεζοί; esso designa in modo anacronistico tutti i soldati della fanteria romana dotati di armi difensive, e già nel II secolo d.C. viene adoperato dagli autori greci tanto per la fanteria ausiliaria d'assalto quanto per i legionari<sup>19</sup>.

Janniard ha frainteso anche il significato dell'espressione *expediti uelites* connessa ad *armati* in Amm. 21.12.9; anche qui si tratta di elegante uariatio. L'agg. sostantivato *expediti* talvolta è sinonimo del termine tecnico *auxilia* e della parola comune *auxiliares/auxilarii*<sup>20</sup>, cui anche l'agg. *expeditus* viene sostituito in espressioni perifrastiche<sup>21</sup>; ma questo aggettivo spesso assume il valore figurato di "pronto al combattimento, risoluto, deciso" o di "svelto, spedito"<sup>22</sup>. Anche il sost. *uelites*, così come l'agg. e agg. sost. *uelitaris*, vengono usati da Ammiano al solo fine di variare i vocaboli *auxilia* e *auxiliares/auxilarii*<sup>23</sup>. Pertanto in tale passo la locuzione *expediti uelites*, che ricorre anche altrove<sup>24</sup>, significa "soldati degli *auxilia* pronti al combattimento, risoluti, decisi, svelti, spediti", ovvero semplicemente "soldati degli *auxilia*", qualora sia un altro esempio di *abundantia*, più precisamente un *adiectivum substantivum* appositum<sup>25</sup>; è palmare che in questo caso gli *armati* sono comuni legionari<sup>26</sup>.

Molto tempo dopo il *bellum Magnenticum* Vegezio divideva la fanteria principalmente in *scutati* e *sagittarii*<sup>27</sup>; la fanteria leggera comprendeva anche *funditores* o *fundibulatores*<sup>28</sup>, così come *exculcatores*, *armaturae* e *iaculatores*<sup>29</sup>. Verso il 580 d.C. la fanteria dell'impero romano

<sup>19</sup> Arr., *Ect.* 4; 7 (τὸ ὀπλιτικόν); 14; 20; Cass. Dio 56.21.2; 62.12.3; 68.26.2; 74.7.2.

<sup>20</sup> Amm. 21.9.6 e 13.16; 24.1.6.

<sup>21</sup> Amm. 18.2.11; 21.7.4; 24.5.5 e 7.2.

<sup>22</sup> Amm. 16.11.5; 19.11.8; 20.4.5; 21.4.8 e 13.8; 24.1.13; 25.6.9; 31.11.6. Il senso figurato e la sinonimia risaltano evidenti in 20.4.3 e 5, poiché quel brano riguarda *Scutarii* e *Gentiles*, che appartenevano alla cavalleria pesante delle *scholae palatinae*; l'espressione *excerpere quemque promptissimum* è variata appunto da *lecta expeditiore manu*. Un'analogia uariatio: 16.11.5 *missis cuneis tribus equitum expeditorum et fortium* ~ 19.5.2 *duae legiones Magnenticae* [...] *uirorum fortium et perniciem*. Una residua sfumatura del valore originario, "privo di *sarcinae* e *impedimenta*", potrebbe essere ancora presente in tre passi: 19.11.8; 21.13.8; 31.11.6 (cfr. anche 19.9.5 e 22.8.42).

<sup>23</sup> Amm. 16.11.9; 17.13.17; 19.3.1; 20.1.3; 21.12.9; 24.1.13 e 4.3.

<sup>24</sup> Amm. 17.13.17 e 24.1.13.

<sup>25</sup> Hagendahl (1924) 202-207. Ciò vale anche per i due passi citati nella n. precedente.

<sup>26</sup> Si rammenti che il sostantivo *legionarii* compare soltanto in Amm. 19.11.8 e 24.4.21.

<sup>27</sup> Veg., *r. mil.* 1.4.6; 17.3; 20.6; 20.12; 20.21 (*barbari*); 2.15.5-6 e 25.3 (*hostium*); 3.14.9-10; 4.6.1; 10.3; 17.6; 21.1.

<sup>28</sup> Veg., *r. mil.* 3.14.14-15; 4.21.1 e 22.7. Cfr. anche i riferimenti ai *ueteres*: 1.16.3 e 20.16; 2.2.10; 15.7; 17.1 e 4; 23.7; 3.14.13 e 24.12.

<sup>29</sup> Veg., *r. mil.* 2.15.6 e 17.1; 3.14.9-10; 4.21.1.

d'Oriente conservava la medesima suddivisione in due categorie, fanteria pesante per lo scontro corpo a corpo, σκουῶται, e fanteria leggera di specialisti nel combattimento a distanza, ψιλοί<sup>30</sup>; i secondi a loro volta si ripartivano in σαγιτῆτορες, ἄκοντισταί e σφενδοβολισταί<sup>31</sup>. Janniard ha sorprendentemente omesso un dato fondamentale, che confuta decisamente la sua tesi; nel manuale di Maurizio la legenda dei simboli premessa agli schemi tattici della fanteria ritiene l'anacronistico e letterario ὀπλίτης, l'altra traslitterazione ἄρμάτος e il generico πεζός sinonimi del termine tecnico σκουῶτος<sup>32</sup>.

La falange degli σκουῶται rappresentava il nerbo della fanteria tardoromana e si schierava solitamente su sedici file, ma poteva variare la sua profondità a otto o quattro file<sup>33</sup>. Gli σκουῶται e i σαγιτῆτορες potevano formare insieme una falange di tipo misto, in cui gli arcieri occupavano un quinto delle file complessive (quattro file di σαγιτῆτορες per sedici di σκουῶται, due file di σαγιτῆτορες per otto di σκουῶται, una fila di σαγιτῆτορες per quattro di σκουῶται), oppure erano alternati agli σκουῶται nella medesima ἀκία, ovvero erano presenti sia nella falange sia ai suoi κέρατα, prendendo posto tra la fanteria pesante e la cavalleria, o erano collocati all'esterno della cavalleria; gli altri ψιλοί assumevano uno schieramento e un ruolo separati e distinti, più precisamente gli ἄκοντισταί dietro o alle estremità degli σκουῶται, gli σφενδοβολισταί alle ali<sup>34</sup>.

Per quanto riguarda la sola fanteria, un'armata di 16384 σκουῶται e 8000 ψιλοί era il modello normale di Maurizio, e gli σκουῶται si dividevano in quattro μέρη<sup>35</sup>; per ogni μέρος erano previsti due ὀρνιθόβορες, "Adlerträger" secondo la traduzione di Gamillscheg e la proposta esegetica di Mihăescu. Ogni μέρος contava 4096 σκουῶται,

<sup>30</sup> Mauric., *Strateg.* 12.B.2-3 (tutte le citazioni fanno riferimento all'edizione critica di G.T. Dennis con traduzione tedesca di E. Gamillscheg, Wien 1981).

<sup>31</sup> Mauric., *Strateg.* 12.B.8, rr. 8-9; 12, rr. 3-4, 6, 8, 12-16; 20, rr. 33-35, 84-87, 89.

<sup>32</sup> Mauric., *Strateg.* 12.A.7, r. 92. La traduzione di Gamillscheg, "bewaffneter Bursch", risulta essere evidentemente errata; infatti tale significato è proprio della sola cavalleria, dove il latinismo ἄρμάτος indica il σύμμαχος o lo ὑπασπιστής di un ὀπιμάτος: 1.3, rr. 24-25; 2.6, rr. 30-31 e 46-47; 3.7, r. 7. Cfr. anche Mihăescu (1969) 156-157 e (1979) 57. Gli σκουῶται sono denominati ὀπλίται anche altrove: 12.B.16, r. 79; 17, rr. 28 e 44; 19, r. 10; 22, r. 47.

<sup>33</sup> Mauric., *Strateg.* 12.A.7, rr. 6-9, 14-15, 17-18; B.8, rr. 20-22; 9, rr. 11-12, 16-17, 20, 32, 38; 11, r. 12; 12, rr. 5-6; 16, rr. 8-13, 58, 60-62, 97-102, 108-109; 17, rr. 25-26, 28-30, 35-40. Cfr. anche Colombo (2011) 181-182.

<sup>34</sup> Mauric., *Strateg.* 12.A.7, rr. 14-15 e 17-18; B.12, rr. 3-10 e 12-15.

<sup>35</sup> Mauric., *Strateg.* 12.B.8, rr. 3-10 e 23-24; 9, rr. 30-31; 20, rr. 46-47.

che possono essere interpretati come l'equivalente numerico di due *legiones palatinae* o *comitatenses* e di quattro *auxilia palatina*<sup>36</sup>.

L'arma inastata della fanteria pesante era il κοντάριον<sup>37</sup>, l'asta da urto, che poteva essere adoperato dagli σκουῖται delle file anteriori anche come arma pesante da lancio<sup>38</sup>; gli σκουῖται in generale, ma soprattutto οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν ἀκίων, usavano come armi da lancio leggere σφενδοβόλα e μαρτζοβάρβουλα, ovvero μαρτζοβάρβουλα ἢ ῥιπτάρια<sup>39</sup>. Nel manuale di Maurizio i μαρτζοβάρβουλα vengono nominati più volte, soprattutto in relazione agli ψιλοί<sup>40</sup>; i generici ῥιπτάρια degli σκουῖται possono essere identificati con almeno due delle altre armi leggere da lancio: βηρύτται (= *ueruta*), σφενδοβόλα, λαγκίδια Σκλαβινίσκια, ἀκόντια generici o μικρὰ Μαυρίσκια<sup>41</sup>. Benché tutte le armi leggere da lancio sembrino pertinenti agli ἀκοντισταί<sup>42</sup>, l'equipaggiamento degli σκουῖται comprendeva σφενδοβόλα e μαρτζοβάρβουλα<sup>43</sup>; inoltre essi si esercitavano a scagliare la βηρύττα e il μαρτζοβάρβουλον durante l'addestramento<sup>44</sup>. Perciò appare logico pensare che il nome generico di ῥιπτάρια abbracciasse σφενδοβόλα e βηρύτται.

<sup>36</sup> Mauric., *Strateg.* 12.B.7, rr. 13-14 Ἔχειν δὲ καὶ ὀρνιθόβορας, ἐὰν ἀπαντᾷ, καθ' ἕκαστον μέρος δύο τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐστίν (ὀρνιθόβορας M Dennis ὀρνίβορας VNP Scheffer Mihăescu ὀρδινατούρους A). Essi sono menzionati anche altrove: 12.B.11, rr. 21 e 24; 17, r. 54. In questi passi le lezioni sono ὀρνίβορας MVNP e ὀρνιθόρων M ὀρνίβορον VNP, mentre A tramanda gli aberranti ὀρδινάτωρ e ὀρδινατόρων; Dennis sceglie giustamente di stampare ὀρνιθόβορας e ὀρνιθοβόρων. Colombo (2006) 21 propone una ricostruzione errata per la composizione interna di un μέρος, sostenendo che esso comprendeva 2048 σκουῖται e altrettanti ψιλοί: cfr. *ibid.* 20-25 circa la sopravvivenza delle *aquillae* come insegna legionaria nella Tarda Antichità.

<sup>37</sup> Mauric., *Strateg.* 12.B.4, r. 3; 11, r. 13; 16, rr. 45, 47, 51; 20, r. 8.

<sup>38</sup> Mauric., *Strateg.* 12.B.16, r. 47. Nell'applicazione difensiva del *fulcum* gli σκουῖται della terza fila potevano usare il κοντάριον come asta da urto o a mo' di giavellotto, mentre gli σκουῖται della quarta fila dovevano scagliarlo: 12.A.7, rr. 57-59. Mauric., *Strateg.* 12.A.7, rr. 52-59 è un'originale e pragmatica rielaborazione di Arr., *Ect.* 16-17 e 26; questo passo offre un contributo decisivo alla corretta esegesi del testo arriano: Rance (2004) 277-280; Colombo (2011) 171-172. Ma proprio Arr., *Ect.* 26 a sua volta chiarisce le differenti mansioni degli σκουῖται schierati nella terza e nella quarta fila.

<sup>39</sup> Mauric., *Strateg.* 12.B.4, rr. 4-5 e 16, r. 45.

<sup>40</sup> Mauric., *Strateg.* 12.B.2, r. 3; 4, r. 5; 5, r. 8; 6, r. 6; 12, r. 12; 16, r. 45; 18, r. 12; 20, r. 10.

<sup>41</sup> Mauric., *Strateg.* 12.B.2, r. 3; 3, r. 4; 4, r. 4; 5, r. 6; 12, r. 12; 18, r. 11; 20, rr. 9-10 e 86-87. Per l'identificazione della βηρύττα con il *uerutum* cfr. Colombo (2011) 177.

<sup>42</sup> Mauric., *Strateg.* 12.B.3, r. 4; 5, rr. 6 e 8; 12, r. 12; 20, rr. 9-10 e 86-87.

<sup>43</sup> Mauric., *Strateg.* 12.B.4, rr. 4-5.

<sup>44</sup> Mauric., *Strateg.* 12.B.2.

Apriamo una parentesi linguistico-filologica a proposito dei μαρτζοβάρβουλα. Il nome greco dell'arma impone di leggere appunto *martiobarbuli* in Veg., *r. mil.* 1.17.1-3 e 3.14.10; il termine tecnico ha origine colloquiale, come prova il suffisso diminutivo a carattere affettivo, ed è una parola composta (aggettivo + sostantivo), che allude pregnante-mente alla funzione (*martio-*) e alla forma (*-barbulus*) dell'arma: "il (piccolo) barbo da guerra". L'assimilazione del dardo a un pesce sembra un'evidente manifestazione dell'umorismo militare, che era solito esprimersi con asciutta e colorita brevità<sup>45</sup>.

Maurizio prescriveva che tutti gli σκουῖται portassero l'elmo, e i soldati scelti (οἱ ἐπίλεκτοι) indossassero la ζῦβα (corazza a maglia o a lamelle), o ne fossero dotate almeno le prime due file; inoltre egli raccomandava che i soldati della prima e dell'ultima fila indossassero schinieri in legno o ferro<sup>46</sup>. I soldati scelti componevano metà delle file (le prime quattro e le ultime quattro)<sup>47</sup>; quindi la metà o addirittura la grande maggioranza degli σκουῖται (quattordici file su sedici complessive) era priva di corazza. Maurizio prevedeva anche la mancanza di corazza da parte degli stessi σκουῖται schierati in prima fila; l'applicazione offensiva del *fulcum* era una manovra specifica proprio per i casi, in cui i fanti della prima fila non indossassero corazza e schinieri. Essi dovevano coprirsi gambe e stomaco con i propri scudi; i fanti della seconda fila sollevavano i loro scudi e li facevano combaciare con gli σκουῖται dei loro commilitoni, proteggendone testa e petto<sup>48</sup>.

Gli σκουῖται della prima fila, se avevano armi leggere da lancio, le usavano dopo essersi fermati e avere piantato la loro lancia in terra; altrimenti essi scagliavano il κοντάριον e impugnavano lo παθίον, mentre gli σκουῖται della seconda fila appoggiavano il loro assalto brandendo i κοντάρια come aste da urto<sup>49</sup>. Il verbo ἐπιβοηθοῦσι ha un significato assai vago, ma il probabile impiego della πύκνωσις suggerisce che gli σκουῖται

<sup>45</sup> Sulle caratteristiche generali del *sermo castrensis*, cfr. i vecchi ma ancora utilissimi Kempf (1901) 340-400 e Heraeus (1902) 255-280. La grafia erronea *mattiobarbulus*, così come la tesi conseguente sui *Mattiarii* quali legionari armati di *mattiobarbulus*, figura sia in Kempf (1901) 348 e 366-367 sia in Heraeus (1902) 264: così anche De Meo (1986<sup>2</sup>) 196-197 e n. 26. Per l'armamento e la funzione tattica dei *Mattiarii* cfr. ora Colombo (2008b) 148 e (2011) 167-168.

<sup>46</sup> Mauric., *Strateg.* 12.B.4, rr. 3 e 5-8. Cfr. anche Agath. 2.8.4.

<sup>47</sup> Mauric., *Strateg.* 12.B.9, rr. 12-16 e 35-37.

<sup>48</sup> Mauric., *Strateg.* 12.B.16, rr. 30-38 e 52-55. Nel *fulcum* difensivo anche la terza fila partecipava alla manovra: 12.A.7, rr. 52-53.

<sup>49</sup> Mauric., *Strateg.* 12.B.16, rr. 47-51. Un'interpretazione diversa in Rance (2004) 275: μα τῶν ἐμπροσθεν κατὰ τὸ μέτωπον τεταγμένων e οἱ παρεστῶτες αὐτοῖς

della seconda fila fossero a distanza utile per l'uso dei κοντάρια come aste da urto, poiché l'arma misurava poco più di due metri e la seconda fila distava dalla linea di combattimento soltanto 3 *pedes* (1 *pes* di profondità per ogni σκουτάτος + 2 *pedes* di spazio libero = 88,8 cm)<sup>50</sup>. La struttura del *fulcum* e la pausa per l'utilizzo delle armi leggere da lancio imponevano una bassa velocità d'attacco; inoltre Maurizio non adopera mai verbi, che indichino o almeno implicino un assalto della fanteria condotto a passo di carica. Ciò significa che le legioni e gli *auxilia* d'assalto, fondendosi in un solo schieramento di σκουῆται, perdettero mobilità e forza d'urto.

Le abitudini tattiche della fanteria romana alla fine del VI secolo d.C. sembrano essere una diretta conseguenza dell'equipaggiamento stesso; la minore forza d'urto, così come la maggiore vulnerabilità, impose di adottare come soluzione ottimale proprio la mescolanza di fanteria pesante e leggera proposta da Vegezio, ma in misura e forme ben diverse dai suoi consigli. La fanteria leggera d'assalto è totalmente scomparsa, fondendosi con le legioni negli σκουῆται; gli ψιλοί, specialisti nel combattimento a distanza, dovevano compensare parzialmente la prevalente assenza della corazza tra gli σκουῆται e supportare le manovre oplitiche della falange tardoromana.

Vegezio, quando invocava la restituzione di *cassides* e *catafractae* al *pedestris exercitus*, non era affatto un *laudator temporis acti*, ma offriva un consiglio molto sensato, che mescolava l'esempio storico delle sue fonti (qui correttamente intese e usate) con gli insegnamenti strategici della realtà contemporanea; egli fu capace di giudicare correttamente i fattori materiali e tattici, che fecero perdere gran parte della sua efficienza combattiva alla fanteria romana: il rilassamento e la decadenza della *disciplina* = competenza tecnica<sup>51</sup>, la preferenza dei Romani per il servizio civile<sup>52</sup>, la scarsa o nulla selezione delle reclute fornite dalla tassazione dei

ὀπιθεν (rr. 33-34 e 36), cioè la prima e la seconda fila, sono identici a οἱ εἰς τὸ μέτωπον τεταγμένοι e a οἱ ὀπιθεν αὐτῶν ἐστῶτες (rr. 43-44 e 49-50).

<sup>50</sup> Per gli spazi degli ordinamenti tattici cfr. ora Colombo (2011) 174-175. Rance (2004) 271 e 275 sembra tenere conto della πύκνωσις soltanto κατὰ μῆκος; essa invece deve essere calcolata anche κατὰ βάθος. La medesima dimenticanza sembra avere riguardato anche il συναπισμός e gli ha impedito di proporre un'interpretazione più felice di Arr., *Ect.* 26 (ibid. 297-298, dove il comportamento ipotizzato per la seconda fila dei legionari è esplicitamente contraddetto da Arr., *Ect.* 17).

<sup>51</sup> Veg., *r. mil.* 1.8.6-7; 20.8-10; 21.3-4; 28.6-8. Cfr. anche Goffart (1977) 81-82, che interpreta *longae securitas pacis* come un'allusione al periodo 383-402 d.C.

<sup>52</sup> Veg., *r. mil.* 1.5.2 *Sed tunc erat amplior multitudo, et plures militiam sequebantur armatam; necdum enim ciuilis pars florentiorem abducebat iuuentutem*; 7.8-9 (citato per esteso nella n. seguente); 28.6 *Sed longae securitas pacis homines partim ad delectationem otii partim ad ciuilia transduxit officia*.

*possessores*<sup>53</sup>, la carenza di reclute e di rimpiazzati per i ranghi delle legioni<sup>54</sup>, cui anche i cittadini romani preferivano gli *auxilia*<sup>55</sup>, il costoso assoldamento di mercenari barbarici<sup>56</sup>, infine la negligente superficialità o mera incompetenza dei generali, che con i loro eserciti si lasciavano sorprendere allo scoperto dai barbari durante le soste diurne o notturne delle marce<sup>57</sup>, oppure conducevano sul campo di battaglia fanti stanchi per un *longum spatium* o cavalieri su cavalli sfiniti per il *cursus*<sup>58</sup>.

Anche se la grande maggioranza dei rimedi proposti era poco praticabile e troppo libresca, la diagnosi di Vegezio era giusta e frutto di una riflessione personale, che nasceva dal confronto teorico tra gli esempi illustri del passato e lo stato effettivo della *res militaris* ai suoi tempi. L'efficacia della fanteria romana nelle operazioni campali rimase alta, quando erano investiti del comando generali abili come Promotus<sup>59</sup>, Stilicone<sup>60</sup> o Narsete<sup>61</sup>, capaci

<sup>53</sup> Veg., *r. mil.* 1.7.8-9 *dum honestiores quique ciuilia sectantur officia, dum indicti possessoribus tiroes per gratiam aut dissimulationem probantium tales sociantur, quales domini habere fastidiunt*. Anche qui Vegezio non va oltre una proposta generica di tono moralistico, *a magnis ergo uiris magnaue diligentia idoneos eligi conuenit iuniores*; chi debbano essere i *magni uiri* non è detto né qui né a 2.18.7-8, dove Vegezio parla in modo altrettanto generico di *exercitati et prudentes uiri* e di *sollertia*, ma allude più direttamente all'aspetto economico (*si competentes non denegentur expensae*). Tale vaghezza è sufficiente a denunciare il carattere libresco della soluzione, un tratto costante dell'*Epitoma rei militaris*. Ma la diagnosi di Vegezio su questo male è giusta, come parecchie altre, e coglie due dei fattori materiali, che determinarono la forte perdita di capacità combattive da parte della fanteria romana.

<sup>54</sup> Veg., *r. mil.* 2.3.2 *Deinde contubernalibus completis stipendiis per testimoniales ex more dimissis non sunt alii substituti*; l'autore poi cita giustamente la *debilitas* per malattia, cioè l'invalidità permanente, come causa di congedo anticipato, e non nasconde il peso numerico della diserzione volontaria (§3).

<sup>55</sup> Veg., *r. mil.* 2.3.4 *Est et alia causa, cur adtenuatae sint legiones: magnus in illis labor est militandi, grauiora arma, plura munera, seuerior disciplina. Quod uitantes plerique in auxiliis festinant militiae sacramenta percipere, ubi et minor sudor et maturiora sunt praemia*.

<sup>56</sup> Veg., *r. mil.* 1.28.10.

<sup>57</sup> Veg., *r. mil.* 1.21.3-4 e 3.10.13-14.

<sup>58</sup> Veg., *r. mil.* 3.11.7. Inoltre un interessante cenno nel §8 *Hoc [Haec Reeve] et ueteres declinarunt, et superiore uel nostra aetate, cum Romani duces per imperitiam non cauissent, ne quid amplius dicam, exercitus perdiderunt*. Sotto l'espressione vaga *superiore [...] aetate* molto probabilmente si cela un'allusione agli errori tattici di Valente prima della disfatta romana presso Adrianopoli: Amm. 31.12.11-13. Cfr. anche Lenski (1997) 148 e n. 55.

<sup>59</sup> Nel primo autunno 386 d.C. Promotus, *magister peditum per Thracias* o *magister peditum praesentalis* di Teodosio I, distrusse sul basso Danubio una grande orda di Greuthungi sotto il comando di Odotheus: Zos. 4.35.1 e 38.1-39.5 (v. anche nn. 180 e 197). Sul grado di Promotus nel 386 d.C. cfr. Demandt (1970) 714 e *PLRE* I 750.

<sup>60</sup> Secondo la testimonianza di Claud., *Goth.* 588-589 e 594-597 la fanteria romana ebbe un ruolo decisivo nella sanguinosa vittoria di Stilicone sui Goti di Alarico a Pollentia/Pollenzo.

<sup>61</sup> Procop., *Goth.* 4.29.11-21; 31.1-8; 32.1-21 (la disfatta degli Ostrogoti a Busta Galorum); Agath. 2.8.1-9.11 (la distruzione dell'orda germanica agli ordini di Butilinus presso Capua). Cfr. anche Procop., *Goth.* 4.8.14-16 e 29-38 (la brillante vittoria di Dagis-theus sui Persiani in Lazica).



di adoperare al meglio anche le opportunità tattiche della *pugna stataria* e la competenza tecnica dei fanti romani; ancora Maurizio sottolinea eloquentemente il fatto che la falange mista della fanteria tardoromana rappresentava una valida difesa contro gli arcieri corazzati degli Avari<sup>62</sup>, che nella seconda metà del VI secolo d.C. insieme ai Persiani erano i nemici più pericolosi per l'impero romano d'Oriente sui campi di battaglia.

Questi dati possono essere utilmente comparati con la narrazione storiografica di Ammiano Marcellino, che ricorda più volte la grande efficacia di *legiones* e *auxilia* contro la cavalleria pesante dei Persiani e dei Sarmati<sup>63</sup>, anche in occasione di sconfitte romane<sup>64</sup>. Inoltre la fanteria continuò a essere il nerbo degli eserciti alamannici e franchi anche nei secoli V–VI d.C.<sup>65</sup>; l'efficienza dei Germani occidentali nel ruolo di fanti è provata dalla grande vittoria dei Franchi al *Campus Vogladensis* (nei pressi dell'odierna Vouillé), dove nel 507 d.C. la fanteria leggera dei Franchi riuscì a sbaragliare la cavalleria pesante dei Goti tolosati<sup>66</sup>.

Il confronto tra Vegezio e Maurizio aiuta a risolvere un problema fondamentale: quando e in quale parte dell'impero romano si verificò l'abbandono di corazza e di elmo da parte della fanteria? Se accettiamo un'interpretazione inclusiva di Veg., *r. mil.* 1.20.3 *Ab urbe enim condita usque ad tempus diui Gratiani et catafractis et galeis muniebatur pedestris exercitus*, prima le *catafractae*, poi le *cassides* caddero in disuso soltanto dopo la morte di Graziano nel 383 d.C.<sup>67</sup>. I dati letterari e iconografici sembrano confermare tale datazione<sup>68</sup>.

I fanti romani perlopiù indossano il solo elmo sia sull'Arco di Costantino, escludendo ovviamente i rilievi reimpiegati di Traiano e di Marco Aurelio, sia nelle steli funerarie del III e del IV secolo d.C., nelle quali

<sup>62</sup> Mauric., *Strateg.* 11.2, rr. 67-70: cfr anche 11.1, r. 42.

<sup>63</sup> Amm. 20.8.1 *legionesque augens iuuentutis ualidae supplementis, quarum statariae pugnae per orientales saepe eminuere procinctus* e 25.3.1 *Persae cum saepe adflicti peditum stabiles pugnas horrerent*. Le truppe romane agli ordini di Costanzo II batterono ripetutamente e costrinsero alla sottomissione Sarmati Liberi e Quadi (17.12), *uicinitate et similitudine morum armaturaeque concordēs*; le due tribù adoperavano appunto la versione centroeuropea dei *cataphracti equites* persiani: Colombo (2007b) 346 e nn. 18-22.

<sup>64</sup> Amm. 29.6.13 *legiones motae sunt duae, Pannonica et Moesiaca, ualida proelii manus, quae si conspirasset, abierat procul dubio uictrix*: le due legioni devono essere identificate con i *Pannonici sen.* e i *Moesiaci sen.* di *Not. Dign. Occ.* 5.149-150 = 7.7-8

<sup>65</sup> Agath. 2.5.4.

<sup>66</sup> Greg. Tur., *Hist. Franc.* 2.37.

<sup>67</sup> Veg., *r. mil.* 1.20.3-4. Cfr. l'osservazione cursoria di Goffart (1977) 81 e n. 77.

<sup>68</sup> Sull'uso abituale della corazza da parte dei soldati romani, cfr. Alfs (1941) passim. Sull'armamento difensivo delle truppe romane nella Tarda Antichità, cfr. Coulston (1990) 139-160; Elton (1996) 110-115; Bishop & Coulston (2006<sup>2</sup>) 208 e 210.

l'assenza totale di armamento difensivo è frequente; i bassorilievi storici dell'Arco costantiniano, fatta eccezione per la cavalleria di Massenzio, ritraggono anche i cavalieri senza corazza. Però i soldati romani portano elmo e corazza tanto sul *missorium* di Valentiniano I<sup>69</sup>, quanto nei bassorilievi frammentari della colonna coclide di Teodosio I<sup>70</sup>.

L'esegesi iconografica di Michael Speidel identifica i soldati in un frammento dei rilievi teodosiani con le *scholae palatinae* dell'usurpatore occidentale Magno Massimo, ritratte nel momento della resa a Teodosio I<sup>71</sup>; questa lettura ha il principale fondamento nella presenza del cristogramma su uno scudo<sup>72</sup>. Prescindendo dall'esatto significato della scena<sup>73</sup>, il solo cristogramma in realtà non prova che quei soldati siano effettivamente *scholares*.

Nel *missorium* di Teodosio I le quattro guardie del corpo portano scudi, che non esibiscono affatto questa insegna<sup>74</sup>; inoltre tutte le guardie del corpo sulla base dell'obelisco dell'Ippodromo imbracciano scudi

<sup>69</sup> Deonna (1920) 18-32 e 92-104 con fig. 1, soprattutto 94-95; Delbrück (1933) 179-181 e tav. 79.

<sup>70</sup> Becatti (1960) 83-150, soprattutto 104-111 con tavv. 49a e 50b-55; Sande (1981) passim e figg. 1-19, 22-27, 29-43.

<sup>71</sup> Speidel (1995) 131-136e tav. 48, 1. Il frammento ritrae i soldati di Magno Massimo già secondo Becatti (1960) 107-110e tavv. 50b-51. Un'interpretazione alquanto più persuasiva della scena in Eyice (1958) 144-147 e tav. 36, soprattutto 146: l'esercito di Teodosio I "bei einer Gabenausteilung durch den Kaiser ehrfurchtsvoll die Belohnungen im Empfang nimmt". Un'altra soluzione in Sande (1981) 61-63 con figg. 37 e 39-40: la scena riguarda la resa di guerrieri barbari a Teodosio, poiché secondo le convenzioni iconografiche dell'arte tardoantica essi, come si desume soprattutto dal confronto con i disegni rinascimentali della Colonna di Arcadio (ibid. 63-73), indossano il medesimo equipaggiamento dei soldati romani. L'equipaggiamento attribuito ai guerrieri di Gainas dai rilievi della colonna, così come i trofei e le armi raffigurati sui lati est e sud del basamento, sembrano confermare questa osservazione: Becatti (1960) tavv. 73c-e, 74c-d, 75-76.

<sup>72</sup> Speidel (1995) 132-133 e n. 9.

<sup>73</sup> Benché le argomentazioni di Becatti e di Speidel siano molto abili, sembra difficile aggirare lo scoglio di Cedr. I, 566 Bekker "Ὅτι τὸν τοῦ Ταύρου κίονα ἔστησεν ὁ μέγας Θεοδόσιος, τρόπαια καὶ μάχας ἔχοντα κατὰ Σκυθῶν καὶ βαρβάρων τοῦ αὐτοῦ: cfr. anche Theoph. AM 5878, 110 Classen e Costantino Rodio in Legrand (1896) 42-43, vv. 202-210, 219-226 e 238-240. Speidel (1995) 135 e n. 31 riferisce erroneamente Ambr., *Epist.* 40, 22 alle truppe di Magno Massimo, ma la lettura integrale del brano dimostra chiaramente che gli anonimi *barbari* appartenevano all'esercito dello stesso Teodosio. L'apparente tautologia di Costantino Rodio e di Cedreno, che menzionano simultaneamente Σκύθαι e βάρβαροι, esprime in realtà una legittima distinzione tra il *bellum Gothicum* del 379-382 (Σκύθαι) e i Greuthungi di Odotheus (βάρβαροι), ovvero tra l'insieme dei Goti (Σκύθαι = Goti del 379-382 e Greuthungi di Odotheus) e gli alleati di Fritigernus (βάρβαροι = Alani e Unni: cfr. *Epit. de Caes.* 48.5; *Cons. Const.* ad a. 379, 3 = *Chron. Min.* 1.243 Mommsen; Zos. 4.34.6).

<sup>74</sup> Delbrück (1933) 200 con tavv. 94 e 96-97.

privi di emblemi<sup>75</sup>. Le guardie del corpo hanno scudi con il cristogramma nel *missorium* di Costanzo II (uno)<sup>76</sup>, nei bassorilievi scolpiti sul basamento della Colonna di Arcadio (lato ovest, uno per ciascun *Augustus*)<sup>77</sup> e nel famosissimo mosaico di Giustiniano a San Vitale (uno)<sup>78</sup>; la medesima iconografia (capelli lunghi sul collo e frangia bassa, *torques* aureo, tunica finemente ricamata) le caratterizza nei *missoria* di Costanzo II e di Teodosio I, così come nel mosaico di Giustiniano a San Vitale, mentre la base dell'obelisco dell'Ippodromo omette le sole decorazioni delle tuniche per ovvie ragioni di natura materiale. Anche le guardie del corpo nei bassorilievi di Arcadio, benché essi ci siano noti soltanto attraverso un disegno del 1574, sembrano essere genericamente conformi al modello tradizionale.

L'attendibilità delle insegne tramandate dalla *Notitia Dignitatum* è un argomento molto controverso<sup>79</sup>, ma si deve osservare che il cristogramma brilla per la sua assenza sugli scudi delle *scholae palatinae* e dei *protectores domestici*<sup>80</sup>. La stessa osservazione vale anche per gli altri due emblemi, che compaiono sia nel frammento teodosiano sia nei rilievi di Arcadio, cioè la stella e le punte di lance con decorazioni a spirale; invece stelle e decorazioni a spirale caratterizzano gli scudi di due *legiones palatinae* e di quattro *legiones comitatenses*, che molto probabilmente facevano parte dell'esercito orientale negli anni Ottanta del IV secolo d.C.<sup>81</sup>. Infine un problema sostanziale riguarda il valore stesso degli scudi nei capitoli del *magister officiorum* orientale e occidentale, poiché *Not. Dign. Or.* 11.2 presenta sei scudi per sette *scholae palatinae* e *Not. Dign. Occ.* 9.2 sette scudi per cinque *scholae palatinae*; tale difformità apre la porta all'ipotesi che in entrambi i casi gli scudi potrebbero non riprodurre gli emblemi delle *scholae palatinae*, ma fare

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.* tavv. 86 e 88; Iversen (1972) figg. 11-16.

<sup>76</sup> Delbrück (1933) 147-151 con fig. 46 e tav. 57.

<sup>77</sup> Delbrück (1929) 14 fig. 7; Kollwitz (1941) 34-35 e alleg. 6; Becatti (1960) tav. 74b; Speidel (1995) 134 fig. 1.

<sup>78</sup> Deichmann (1958) tavv. 359 e 368.

<sup>79</sup> Grigg (1983) 132-142 e id. (2005) 161-162; Speidel (1990) 68-72, soprattutto 72.

<sup>80</sup> *Not. Dign. Or.* 11.2 e 15.3-4; *Occ.* 9.2 e 13.3-4: riproduzione a colori in Neira Faleiro (2005) 193, 207, 357 e 373. *Contra* Woods (1996a) 195-202, soprattutto 199-202; cfr. anche id. (1996b) 46-47 e n. 42. Ma ci sono due punti deboli nella sua teoria: 1) Procop., *Anecd.* 26.28 dice esplicitamente che il personale palatino e gli *σχολάριοι* dell'Occidente conservarono τὸ τῆς στρατείας ὄνομα μόνον e 2) due degli scudi nel *missorium* di Teodosio I esibiscono l'insegna di *Not. Dign. Occ.* 9.2 (primo scudo in alto a destra), suggerendo che il corrispondente scudo di *Not. Dign. Or.* 11.2 sia stato soggetto a una corruzione iconografica.

<sup>81</sup> *Not. Dign. Or.* 5.5-6; 7.7; 8.2, 14 e 19; Neira Faleiro (2005) 161, 175, 179, 181. Inoltre v. n. 128.

riferimento generico alla produzione usuale delle *fabricae*, come sembrerebbe indicare appunto la didascalia sovrastante tutte le armi raffigurate.

Il margine di dubbio si allarga in misura sostanziosa, se leggiamo attentamente le testimonianze di Lattanzio e di Eusebio circa l'adozione del cristogramma da parte di Costantino prima di ponte Milvio (Lattanzio) o del *bellum Maxentianum* (Eusebio); l'uno menziona esplicitamente gli *scuta* e fa riferimento a tutto l'*exercitus*<sup>82</sup>, l'altro nomina οἱ ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ὀπλίται τε καὶ δορυφόροι e adopera il verbo προτάσσω, ma tralascia di specificare la precisa collocazione e la forma concreta dell'insegna<sup>83</sup>, che poi egli, quando riepiloga le riforme e i provvedimenti di Costantino a favore del Cristianesimo, individua ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ὅπλων, impiegando il verbo κατασημαίνω<sup>84</sup>. L'identificazione dei δορυφόροι con gli *scholares* è certa, mentre gli ὀπλίται pongono un serio problema a livello linguistico. Se qui ἄμφ' αὐτὸν assume un valore distintivo, gli ὀπλίται possono essere soltanto i *protectores domestici*; se invece questa espressione sostituisce il comune αὐτοῦ, essi corrispondono all'insieme dei soldati, come nella versione di Lattanzio. Quindi la presenza del cristogramma sugli scudi, quando concerne le guardie del corpo imperiali, molto probabilmente ha un valore meramente ideologico e propagandistico, cioè manifesta con un simbolo perspicuo il carattere cristiano dell'esercito e dell'impero, invocando implicitamente la protezione e l'intervento di Dio a favore di entrambi<sup>85</sup>.

Chi comunque voglia conferire un valore decisivo al cristogramma, può legittimamente ritenere i soldati dei bassorilievi teodosiani *scholares* o *protectores domestici*. Chi invece preferisce dare credito alla tradizione iconografica della *Notitia Dignitatum*, può con pari legittimità identificarli come soldati dei reggimenti *comitatenses* e *palatini*. Purtroppo l'armamento difensivo dei bassorilievi teodosiani è completamente idealizzato in termini classicheggianti: i soldati portano elmo attico e corazza muscolare con *pteryges* di cuoio fino al gomito.

Secondo l'interpretazione corrente il *missorium* valentiniano ritrarrebbe le *scholae protectorum domesticorum*<sup>86</sup>. La difformità iconografica

<sup>82</sup> Lact., *De mort. pers.* 44.5.

<sup>83</sup> Eus., *Vita Const.* 1.37 = PG XX 952.

<sup>84</sup> Eus., *Vita Const.* 4.21 = PG XX 1168. Nell'ambito degli ὅπλα lo scudo non era una collocazione obbligata: a questo proposito cfr. Miks (2008) 456-464.

<sup>85</sup> Un'altra ipotesi sostiene che lo scudo con il cristogramma apparteneva allo stesso imperatore: Delbrück (1929) 41; Kollwitz (1941) 35; Frank (1969) 140-141; Whitby (1987) 466-467.

<sup>86</sup> Deonna (1920) 94-95. Delbrück (1933) 181 sottolinea la grande somiglianza delle insegne sugli scudi con vari emblemi dei reggimenti orientali e occidentali nella *Notitia Dignitatum*, ma preferisce lasciare aperta l'identificazione.

nella rappresentazione dei soldati (essi indossano elmo e corazza<sup>87</sup>), rispetto agli esempi citati sopra (*missoria* di Costanzo II e di Teodosio I, obelisco dell'Ippodromo, mosaico di Giustiniano), potrebbe trovare un parallelo nei bassorilievi teodosiani. Ma l'assenza del cristogramma sugli scudi (come nel *missorium* di Teodosio e nell'obelisco dell'Ippodromo) e del *torques* aureo (come nei bassorilievi teodosiani) concentra tre deviazioni sostanziali dalla norma in un solo caso; esse suggeriscono di percorrere una strada alternativa e di cercare una spiegazione differente.

In una scultura egiziana di cipresso, conservata nel Bode-Museum di Berlino (già Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum), i fanti romani ancora indossano l'elmo e la corazza<sup>88</sup>. Più precisamente essi portano un elmo con cresta di crine equino (esso forse deve essere identificato con il tipo Augst, dal momento che i modelli Intercisa I-IV e Augsburg-Pfersee sembrano essere pertinenti alla cavalleria leggera) e indossano una *lorica hamata*, che arriva fino ai gomiti e alle ginocchia<sup>89</sup>; l'opera ha una datazione oscillante tra l'età costantiniana e il VI secolo d.C.<sup>90</sup>, ma può essere stata scolpita negli anni Quaranta o Cinquanta del IV secolo d.C., ovvero riprodurre fedelmente un modello originale di quel periodo. È legittimo proporre una datazione alternativa all'opinione vulgata sulla base di un dettaglio fondamentale; infatti i nemici sono cavalieri e indossano una *lorica squamea* o *hamata*. Ciò significa che essi sono *cataphracti equites*, cioè cavalieri persiani, che agli occhi esperti di Ammiano Marcellino erano *sagittarii* e soprattutto *clibanarii*<sup>91</sup>.

<sup>87</sup> Ma cfr. Delbrück (1933) 180, che vede la solita tunica e nessuna corazza.

<sup>88</sup> Strzygowski (1901) tav. 3; Wulff (1909) tav. 7; Strong (1926) tav. 70; Alfs (1941) 76 e fig. 9.

<sup>89</sup> Klumbach (1973) 116-117 e tavv. 61-64; Alfs (1941) 73-82 ("Kettenpanzer" corto e lungo). Il tipo Worms è un "Kettenpanzer" corto molto probabilmente spettavano agli *auxilia*: Klumbach (1973) 112-114 e tavv. 58-60; Colombo (2008b) 134. L'attribuzione dei modelli Intercisa I-IV e Augsburg-Pfersee alla cavalleria leggera è validamente corroborata dalla dislocazione di tre reggimenti equestri a Intercisa (*cuneus equitum Dalmatarum*, *cuneus equitum Constantianorum* ed *equites Sagittarii*: *Not. Dign. Occ.* 33.25-26 e 38) e di uno ad Augustanae (*equites Stablesiani sen.*: *Occ.* 35.14), dei quali tre (*cuneus equitum Dalmatarum*, *cuneus equitum Constantianorum* ed *equites Stablesiani sen.*) sicuramente appartenevano alla cavalleria leggera d'urto: Klumbach (1973) 95-101 e 105-109 con tavv. 38-56; Colombo (2008b) 132 e 135.

<sup>90</sup> Prima metà del IV secolo d.C.: Strzygowski (1901) 65-84, soprattutto 81. V-VI secolo d.C.: Wulff (1909) 80-81 nr. 243. V secolo d.C.: Dalton (1911) 149-151; Wulff (1914) 142. Età costantiniana: Strong (1926) 339-340.

<sup>91</sup> Ad esempio, Amm. 23.6.80 e 83; 25.1.12-13; 29.1.1; 31.2.20. La provenienza e la datazione della scultura esclude certamente Sarmati e Quadi (v. n. 63) o Goti e Alani (Veg., *r. mil.* 1.20.2). La *lorica squamea* o *hamata* ovviamente compendia la corazza molto più complessa dei *clibanarii* persiani; questo artificio rende ugualmente riconoscibile la

Le interpretazioni vulgate sono una scena veterotestamentaria o puramente simbolica, oppure un evento storico o leggendario, ovvero “ein Ereignis aus einem der Einfälle des libyschen [sic!] Nomadenstammes der Blemmyer in das Nilland”; ma i *cataphracti equites* permettono di identificare approssimativamente il soggetto dell’opera con un episodio maggiore della lunga e logorante guerra, che dal 338 al 350 d.C. Costanzo II combatté contro i Persiani. L’unica alternativa cadrebbe addirittura nel 421-422 d.C., regnanti Onorio e Teodosio II: ciò sposterebbe addirittura verso gli anni Venti del V secolo d.C. il *terminus post quem* per l’abbandono della corazza da parte dei fanti orientali!

Questa scultura è tanto precisa nei particolari tecnici, da riprodurre un emblema reale su quattro scudi (stella a otto punte, che partono dall’*umbo* e raggiungono il bordo); le illustrazioni della *Notitia Dignitatum Orientis* ne attribuiscono uno sostanzialmente uguale a due *legiones palatinae*, mentre uno simile caratterizza una *legio comitatensis*<sup>92</sup>. Vegezio conferma in modo esplicito il fatto che ancora ai suoi tempi permaneva l’uso di distinguere i vari reggimenti attraverso *diuersa signa* dipinti sugli scudi<sup>93</sup>. Perciò i fanti riprodotti in questa scultura devono essere legionari; tale conclusione trova conferma tramite un’altra raffigurazione. Un legionario norico della *II Italica* è diligentemente ritratto in un rilievo funerario, che viene datato verso il 400 d.C.; egli indossa un elmo e una corazza perfettamente identici all’armamento difensivo della fanteria romana secondo la rappresentazione della scultura lignea<sup>94</sup>. Quindi anche i soldati del *missorium* valentiniano possono essere identificati quali fanti, più precisamente come legionari; infatti essi sono uguali ai legionari della scultura egiziana e al legionario del rilievo norico<sup>95</sup>.

nazionalità degli assalitori, dal momento che nel IV secolo d.C. i Persiani erano gli unici nemici dei Romani a usare la cavalleria pesante in Oriente.

<sup>92</sup> *Not. Dign. Or.* 5.5-6 e 8.2; Neira Faleiro (2005) 161 e 179. La medesima insegna compare anche sul basamento della Colonna di Arcadio (primo e terzo scudo da sinistra, secondo e terzo scudo da destra). Gli altri emblemi raffigurano rispettivamente un fiore a quattro petali e quattro pistilli (due scudi), una ruota solare a raggi curvilinei (cinque scudi) e una a raggi rettilinei (uno scudo); la seconda e la terza insegna trovano puntuali riscontri nel *missorium* di Valentiniano (più precisamente nel secondo scudo da sinistra e nel secondo da destra), mentre la terza risulta essere anche un modello familiare alle *legiones palatinae* e *comitatenses* di entrambi gli imperi: *Not. Dign. Or.* 5.2; 6.7; 8.9; 9.2; *Occ.* 5.90 e 92-93; Neira Faleiro (2005) 161, 167, 181, 185, 333.

<sup>93</sup> Veg., *r. mil.* 2.18.1 *diuersis cohortibus diuersa in scutis signa pingebant, ut ipsi nominant, digmata, sicut etiam nunc moris est fieri.*

<sup>94</sup> Eckhart (1981) 47-48 nr. 57 e tav. 35: cfr. *Not. Dign. Occ.* 34.38. *Contra* Fischer (2002) 89-96, che trascura inspiegabilmente le precise corrispondenze con la scultura egiziana e il *missorium* di Valentiniano: v. anche n. seguente.

<sup>95</sup> Altri termini di confronto in Espérandieu (1918) 147-148 nr. 5496 = *CIL* XIII 5980 (il legionario è raffigurato “casqué et cuirassé ou vêtu d’une tunique”) e Franzoni (1987)

Le tre testimonianze iconografiche trovano riscontri puntuali e sicuri in una fonte letteraria del medesimo periodo. Ammiano Marcellino attesta a chiare lettere l'impiego consueto di *galea* e *lorica* da parte dei fanti romani tra il 357 e il 378 d.C.<sup>96</sup>; come nella scultura egiziana, nel rilievo norico e nel *missorium* valentiniano, le *galeae* dei legionari risultano appunto dotate di *cristae*<sup>97</sup>. Sei passi del libro XXXI hanno un valore fondamentale, poiché provano l'uso di *galea* e *lorica* da parte delle fanterie orientali e occidentali ancora nel tempestoso biennio 377-378 d.C. Lo storiografo sembra attribuire *galeae* e *loricae* anche agli Alamanni del Reno superiore nella battaglia di Argentoratum e ai Goti presso Adrianopoli<sup>98</sup>, ma in un altro brano ricorda esplicitamente che nei combattimenti presso il *lacus Brigantia* gli Alamanni Lentienses erano privi di armamento difensivo<sup>99</sup>.

Le singolari *galeae* e *loricae* degli Alamanni e dei Goti rappresentano una prova indiretta sulle armi difensive in dotazione ai soldati di Giuliano *Caesar* o dell'*Augustus* orientale Valente; infatti esse in entrambi i casi rispondono a un criterio stilistico e narrativo. Lo scopo artistico di Ammiano era la fiorita e serrata descrizione di una mischia furibonda, in cui barbari e Romani si squarciavano reciprocamente elmi e corazze. Inoltre parecchi Goti possedevano effettivamente il solo elmo o elmo e corazza, dopo che li avevano sottratti ai cadaveri dei Romani vinti e uccisi in una battaglia e due scontri minori durante la sanguinosa primavera 377 d.C.<sup>100</sup>; quindi Ammiano nel secondo caso si limitò alla licenza veniale e artistica di estendere l'uso abituale di *galea* e *lorica* all'enorme insieme dei fanti gotici.

La presenza stabile dell'elmo nell'equipaggiamento di tutti gli *σκοιτῆται*, così come l'uso eventuale della corazza da parte loro, suggerisce di

39-40 nr. 22 e tav. 9, 1 = *InscrAqu* III 2913 e *AE* 1991, 772 (il defunto, un veterano congedato dei *Moesiaci* = *Moesiaci sen.*, indossa elmo e corazza).

<sup>96</sup> Amm. 16.10.8 e 12.46 (*galeae* e *loricae*); 20.11.12 e 21 (*galeae*); 24.6.10 (*galeae*); 26.6.16 (*galeae*); 31.5.9 (*arma Romana*); 6.3 (*habitus Romanus*); 10.9 e 14 (*arma*); 13.3 (*galeae* e *loricae*). Charles (2008) 229-234 analizza e discute Amm. 31.10.9 e 14, ma trascura l'esegesi più semplice del primo passo: il luccichio e il bagliore delle armi difensive, preannunciando da lontano la repentina ricomparsa delle truppe romane, provocarono la paura e la fuga degli Alamanni Lentienses, che credettero all'arrivo di Graziano, poiché non si aspettavano il ritorno dei Romani sul campo di battaglia. Cfr. anche Colombo (2007a) 209-210.

<sup>97</sup> Amm. 16.10.8 *Et incedebat hinc inde ordo geminus armatorum clipeatus atque cristatus, corusco lumine radians, nitidis loriciis indutus*; 24.6.10 *cristatis galeis corusci Romani uibrantesque clipeos [...] lenius procedebant*; 26.6.16 *quae [scil. scuta] metuentes ne a celsioribus tectis saxis uel tegularum fragmentis conflictaretur densius ipsis galearum cristis aptabant* (qui l'identificazione è certa, dato che si tratta di *Diuitenses iun.* e *Tungricani iun.*, esplicitamente menzionati in 26.6.12). Cfr. anche 20.11.21 *triplex acies nostrorum instructa conisque galearum minacius nutans*.

<sup>98</sup> Amm. 16.12. 45 e 53; 31.13.3.

<sup>99</sup> Amm. 15.4.11. Cfr. anche Agath. 2.5.3.

<sup>100</sup> Amm. 31.5.5; 5.9; 6.3.



interpretare in modo differente la testimonianza drammatica di Vegezio; egli accentua capziosamente gli esiti della riforma, per dare maggiore peso al suo appello<sup>101</sup>. I legionari e gli *auxiliares* appartenenti alla fanteria d'assalto in realtà dimisero la sola *catafracta*; questo mutamento riguardò tutta la fanteria allora munita di armamento difensivo, ma forse fu applicato in misura diversa alle varie classi (*legiones palatinae*, *auxilia palatina*, *legiones comitatenses*, *pseudocomitatenses*, *auxilia* e legioni dei *limitanei*), poiché gli σκουτᾶτοι sembrano oscillare tra differenti dotazioni di ζῦβα: otto file, due file, nessuna<sup>102</sup>. Si ricordi che durante il regno di Maurizio gli eserciti campali includevano anche gli *equites* e le legioni dei *limitanei*; infatti i καβαλλᾶριοι comprendevano sia le βιξελλατίονες (= *uexillationes palatinae* e *comitatenses*) sia gli Ἰλλυρικτιανοί (= *equites Illyriciani* di *Not. Dign. Or.* 32-37)<sup>103</sup>, e la *IV Parthica* prese parte alla battaglia di Solachon nel 586 d.C.<sup>104</sup>. Graziano o piuttosto l'anonimo *imperator* introdusse una novità, che appare pienamente conforme alle abitudini belliche dei Germani transrenani e dei Goti danubiani, ma soprattutto sembra soddisfare una necessità economica: ridurre la spesa statale per l'armamento difensivo della fanteria regolare.

Se l'autore del provvedimento fu Graziano, esso dovrebbe essere necessariamente datato dopo il 378 d.C.; ma il rilievo norico impedisce di accettare anche questa datazione. Pertanto Teodosio I sembra essere il candidato più probabile almeno per tre indizi principali<sup>105</sup>. In primo luogo dobbiamo considerare l'armamento difensivo degli σκουτᾶτοι secondo la testimonianza di Maurizio; se la fanteria orientale verso la fine del VI secolo d.C. era per metà o prevalentemente priva di corazza, ciò poteva dipendere soltanto dalla volontà di un imperatore, che avesse esercitato effettivamente il suo potere nella *pars Orientis*. Graziano fu unico *Augustus* di tutto l'impero dalla morte di Valente (9 Agosto 378) alla nomina di Teodosio (19 Gennaio 379), cioè per poco più di cinque mesi, nei quali è inverosimile che egli abbia trovato il tempo e le ragioni di modificare l'armamento difensivo della fanteria.

<sup>101</sup> Veg., *r. mil.* 1.20.5 e 8-10.

<sup>102</sup> V, nn. 46-48.

<sup>103</sup> Mauric., *Strateg.* 2.6, rr. 23-24 e 3.8, r. 4.

<sup>104</sup> *Not. Dign. Or.* 35.24; Theophyl. Sim., *Hist.* 2.6.9.

<sup>105</sup> Ma cfr. le differenti conclusioni di Charles (2003) 127-167 (sotto tutti gli altri aspetti un ottimo studio): "the use of helmet and cuirass among the regular heavy infantry of Rome probably continued throughout the reign of Theodosius I and into the early part of Honorius' tenure of the purple".

Poi le ragioni della discontinuità con la tradizione romana sono sicuramente diverse dalle cause pretestuose (*cum campestris exercitatio interueniente negligentia desidiaque cessaret, grauius uideri arma coeperunt, quae raro milites induebant*), con cui Vegezio sostiene in maniera indiretta la sua proposta di ritornare all'*antiqua consuetudo*<sup>106</sup>; infine Vegezio nomina Graziano quale termine cronologico di riferimento, ma chiama soltanto *imperator* l'autore della riforma<sup>107</sup>. Le vere cause del drastico mutamento e la precisa identità del suo responsabile beneficiano della medesima reticenza; ciò sembra additare appunto la figura di Teodosio I, il fondatore della dinastia regnante ai tempi di Vegezio.

L'*exemplum* di Goti (= Greuthungi/Ostrogoti<sup>108</sup>), Alani e Unni, tutti e tre *equites*, ma rispettivamente lancieri di armatura pesante, lancieri di armatura leggera e arcieri, portò la cavalleria romana ad adottare uniformemente *contus* iranico e arco unnico<sup>109</sup>. I cavalieri gotici forse irrobustirono principalmente la cavalleria regolare, mentre Alani e Unni contribuivano in larga misura agli eserciti teodosiani soprattutto con bande di mercenari temporanei; alleggerendo le armi difensive del *pedestris exercitus*, Teodosio favorì il reclutamento massivo dei guerrieri gotici a piedi nei reggimenti regolari della fanteria orientale<sup>110</sup>. Le liste della *Notitia Dignitatum Orientis* suffragano questa tesi.

Valente aveva formato soltanto quattro *auxilia palatina* di arcieri, i perduti *\*I* e *\*II Sagittarii Valentis*, i sopravvissuti *III Sagittarii Valentis* e i *Sagittarii dominici*<sup>111</sup>, che verosimilmente furono arruolati tra i provinciali microasiatici e orientali; egli invece aveva costituito cinque *legiones comitatenses*, *II Felix Valentis Thebaeorum*, *Augustenses*, *Valentinianenses*

<sup>106</sup> Veg., *r. mil.* 1.20.3.

<sup>107</sup> Veg., *r. mil.* 1.20.4.

<sup>108</sup> Giova ricordare che i Greuthungi/Ostrogoti erano un "Reitervolk" (Schmidt [1934<sup>2</sup>] 381; Wolfram [1988<sup>2</sup>] 87 e 115), mentre i Tervingi/Goti danubiani davano la preminenza alla fanteria (Wolfram [1988<sup>2</sup>] 92 e 98).

<sup>109</sup> Veg., *r. mil.* 2.14.7 *conto scienter uti, sagittas doctissime mittere*; 3.6.3 *utrum contatis an sagittariis amplius ualeant*; 9.6 *et inter ipsos equites qui contatis, qui sagittariis antecedit, quis plures loricas induat, quis utiliores equos adduxerit*; 16.1 *Constructa acie peditum equites ponuntur in cornibus, ita ut loricati omnes et contati iuncti sint peditibus, sagittarii autem uel qui loricas non habent longius euagentur*; 17.9 *circa autem cornua de contatis loricatisque equitibus ad hoc reseruatis et leui armatura peditum alas hostium circumuenire te conuenit*.

<sup>110</sup> L'arruolamento dei Goti nell'esercito regolare a opera di Teodosio è abbondantemente attestato: Them., *Or.* 16.211D; 18.222A; 34.22; Pacato, *Pan. Lat.* 2.22.3 Mynors; Synes., *De regn.* 21C-26C; Zos. 4.30.1-2; 31.1; 33.3; 40.1-2; 45.3.

<sup>111</sup> *Not. Dign. Or.* 5.56 e 6.56.

e *Gratianenses*<sup>112</sup>, più la perduta \**I Felix Valentis Thebaeorum*. Teodosio I creò quindici *auxilia palatina*, mentre una sola *legio comitatensis* gli può essere attribuita<sup>113</sup>; inoltre nove reggimenti di cavalleria risalgono certamente al suo regno: cinque *uexillationes palatinae* e tre *uexillationes comitatenses*, così come il *cuneus equitum Arcadum*<sup>114</sup>.

Appena tre *auxilia palatina* furono sicuramente formati da Teodosio con reclute alleate (*Hiberi*) o indigene (*Felices Theodosiani Isauri* e *Thraces*)<sup>115</sup>. Pare logico arguire che la repentina moltiplicazione degli *auxilia palatina* sotto Teodosio deve essere collegata direttamente all'uso indiscriminato dei guerrieri gotici come serbatoio di risorse umane per i reggimenti regolari; infatti fino a Valente l'impero romano d'Oriente non possedeva un bacino di reclutamento per gli *auxilia palatina* paragonabile alla Gallia (= Galli in senso stretto, Germani cisrenani e *laeti*) e ai Germani transrenani. Perciò l'imperatore ispanico arruolò integralmente tra i Goti almeno dodici *auxilia palatina* appartenenti alla fanteria leggera d'assalto: *Visi* e *Teruingi*, *Felices Theodosiani*, *Felices Arcadiani sen. e iun.*, *Felices Honoriani sen. e iun.*, *Victores*, *I-IV Theodosiani*<sup>116</sup>.

Proprio l'onomastica degli *auxilia* teodosiani può contribuire a provare il reclutamento massivo di Goti nell'esercito regolare, poiché si notano evidenti difformità rispetto alle consuetudini precedenti. Costantino costituì due *auxilia* dotati di nomi dinastici (*Constantiani* e *Constantiniani*)<sup>117</sup>; suo nipote Giuliano formò tre *auxilia* a base etnica con i prigionieri di guerra germanici (*Tubantes*, *Salii sen.* e *Salii <iun.>*)<sup>118</sup>, mentre i provinciali gallici e i Germani cisrenani fornirono le reclute per altri sei

<sup>112</sup> *Not. Dign. Or.* 7.46; 8.22 e 52-53.

<sup>113</sup> *Not. Dign. Or.* 7.47.

<sup>114</sup> *Not. Dign. Or.* 5.32; 6.33; 8.25-27 e 30-32; 39.18.

<sup>115</sup> *Not. Dign. Or.* 5.60 e 66; 6.60. Them., *Or.* 27.333A ed Eunap. frg. 77 = *FHG* IV 48 Müller autorizzano l'ipotesi che gli *Hiberi* fossero un'unità di *sagittarii*.

<sup>116</sup> *Not. Dign. Or.* 5.61-65; 6.61-64 e 67; 7.36-37. Un margine di dubbio rimane per i *Victores*, che potrebbero essere i *Victores (iun.)* di Amm. 26.7.13, poi retrocessi per avere disertato a favore dell'usurpatore Procopio. Le liste degli eserciti orientali omettono l'appellativo secondario *iuniores* sicuramente in tre casi: *Not. Dign. Or.* 5.51; 6.50; 8.35.

<sup>117</sup> *Not. Dign. Or.* 5.52 e 6.52. La posizione di entrambi gli *auxilia* rispetto ai reparti che Giuliano *Caesar* reclutò con i prigionieri di guerra franchi nell'inverno-primavera 358 d.C. (v. n. seguente), può essere spiegata con una semplice retrocessione per motivi disciplinari (insubordinazione, diserzione, disfatta campale, fuga dal campo di battaglia o perdita dell'insegna reggimentale); altrimenti è necessario supporre che *Constantiani* e *Constantiniani* siano stati formati da Costanzo II dopo il 358 d.C., attingendo agli omonimi *auxiliares* di *Scythia* e di *Moesia II* (*Not. Dign. Or.* 39.23 e 25-26; 40.20 e 26).

<sup>118</sup> *Not. Dign. Or.* 6.51 e *Occ.* 5.176 = 7.123; *Occ.* 5.177; *Or.* 5.51: cfr. Iul., *Epist. ad Athen.* 280D; Lib., *Or.* 18.70; Amm. 17.2.1-3; Zos. 3.8.1.

(*Grati, Felices sen. e iun., Inuicti sen. e iun., Augustei*)<sup>119</sup>. Valentiniano I creò undici *auxilia* a base etnica, sette con Germani transrenani (*Raetouarii, Bucinobantes, Angriuarii e Falchouarii, Bructeri e Ampsiuarii*) e pirati ibernici (*Atecotti*), quattro con provinciali romani (*Raeti, Sequani, Latini, Sabini*)<sup>120</sup>; inoltre altri sette (*Defensores e Vindices, Valentinianenses iun., Gratianenses sen. e iun., Felices Valentinianenses*, più i perduti *\*Valentinianenses sen.*)<sup>121</sup>, dei quali cinque portavano nomi dinastici, potrebbero essere stati *auxilia* promossi dei *ripenses* renani e danubiani, che comprendevano soprattutto provinciali romani<sup>122</sup>. Due anomalie sono palesi: da un lato gli *auxilia* teodosiani esplicitamente formati con guerrieri gotici sono appena due, dall'altro i reparti insigniti di nomi dinastici sono nove. L'onomastica tribale dei Goti danubiani offriva soltanto due etnonimi (l'endotribale *Visi* e l'esotribale *Teruingi*); quindi è naturale che Teodosio abbia usato i nomi dinastici in maniera massiccia, per denominare gli altri *auxilia* arruolati tra i Goti.

Se accettiamo di datare le liste militari della *Notitia Dignitatum Orientis* verso il 395 d.C., l'esercito teodosiano comprendeva quarantatre reggimenti equestri, più precisamente quattordici *uexillationes palatinae* e ventinove *uexillationes comitatenses*; su una forza complessiva di 93000 uomini (esclusi dal conto gli *pseudocomitatenses* e i *Gratianenses*, che sono attestati dal loro scudo, ma risultano assenti nella relativa lista) la cavalleria orientale rappresentava il 23,1%. Il *magister militum praesentalis I* aveva un esercito di 21000 uomini, il *magister militum praesentalis II* ne comandava 20500; ognuno dei due disponeva di dodici *uexillationes palatinae* e *comitatenses*, che corrispondevano nel primo caso al 28,5% della forza complessiva, nel secondo al 29,2% (28,9% di entrambi gli *exercitus praesentales*). Il *magister militum per Orientem* comandava 15000 uomini, e disponeva di dieci *uexillationes comitatenses*, che rappresentavano il 33,3% della forza totale. Il *magister militum per Thracias* aveva ai suoi ordini 23500 uomini, di cui facevano parte tre *uexillationes*

<sup>119</sup> *Not. Dign. Occ.* 5.178-180 e 182-183; *Or.* 9.28.

<sup>120</sup> *Not. Dign. Or.* 5.58-59; 6.58-59; 9.29; *Occ.* 5.187-188, 191-192, 194-195.

<sup>121</sup> *Not. Dign. Or.* 5.57 e 6.57; *Occ.* 5.181, 189-190, 208.

<sup>122</sup> *Not. Dign. Occ.* 40.27 *numerus Defensorum*; 41.18 e 24 *milites Vindices* e *milites Defensores*. Per quanto riguarda le cinque unità con nomi dinastici, la promozione può avere comportato anche il conferimento di un nuovo nome, ma gli *auxiliares* costantiniani del basso Danubio offrono comunque un valido parallelo (v. n. 117); inoltre abbiamo i *milites I Gratianenses in Scythia* e l'*auxilium Gratianense in Moesia I* (*Or.* 39.27 e 41.26). Su composizione etnica e datazione degli *auxilia palatina* cfr. ora Colombo (2008b) 136-140, 154 e n. 254, 156-159.

*palatinae*, quattro *uexillationes comitatenses* e venti *legiones comitatenses* (l'unica armata a essere completamente priva di *auxilia palatina*); la cavalleria equivaleva al 14,9% dei *comitatenses* traci. Infine il *magister militum per Illyricum* guidava 13000 soldati, che comprendevano appena due *uexillationes comitatenses*, cioè soltanto il 7,7% del totale.

Due *uexillationes palatinae*<sup>123</sup>, così come quattro *uexillationes comitatenses*<sup>124</sup>, erano *sagittarii*; sei unità di *sagittarii* su quarantatre equivalevano al 13,9%. Due *uexillationes palatinae* erano *clibanarii*<sup>125</sup>, mentre dieci *uexillationes comitatenses* si componevano di *catafractarii* o *clibanarii*<sup>126</sup>; dodici reggimenti su quarantatre costituivano il 27,9%. Su ventiquattro *uexillationes* dei due *exercitus praesentales* sette erano *clibanarii* o *catafractarii*, e soltanto due *sagittarii*; in Oriente e *Illyricum* orientale c'era un solo reggimento di *equites Sagittarii* ciascuno, ma ne troviamo due in Tracia, dove li affiancava un'unità di *catafractarii*.

I reparti di *catafractarii* o *clibanarii* costituivano il 25% della cavalleria a disposizione del *magister militum praesentalis I*, e il 33,3% delle unità equestri agli ordini del *magister militum praesentalis II* (29,1% di entrambi gli *exercitus praesentales*); in Oriente raggiungevano addirittura il 40%, ma in Tracia arrivavano appena al 14,2%. Gli arcieri a cavallo in ognuno dei due *exercitus praesentales* raggiungevano soltanto lo 8,3%, in Oriente il 10%, ma in *Illyricum* orientale e Tracia salivano rispettivamente al 50% e al 28,5%; l'*Illyricum* orientale può essere tranquillamente accantonato per l'estrema esiguità della cavalleria là dislocata (due sole *uexillationes comitatenses*), ma l'esercito tracio appare complementare ai due *exercitus praesentales*. I tre eserciti schieravano complessivamente otto reparti di *catafractarii* o *clibanarii* e quattro di *sagittarii*; possiamo dedurre che Teodosio I concepiva *catafractarii* e *clibanarii* come l'arma più efficace contro Goti e Unni, visto che il 66,6% della cavalleria corazzata poteva essere concentrato sul basso Danubio. Anche gli arcieri a cavallo mobilitabili contro gli stessi nemici erano il 66,6% della propria specialità; ma *catafractarii* e *clibanarii* costituivano il 25,8% di tutta la cavalleria a disposizione dei tre generali, mentre i *sagittarii* arrivavano appena al 12,9%.

Come si è detto sopra, la cavalleria scelta fu accresciuta da Teodosio con l'arruolamento o la promozione di cinque *uexillationes palatinae* e

<sup>123</sup> *Not. Dign. Or.* 5.30 e 6.31.

<sup>124</sup> *Not. Dign. Or.* 7.33; 8.30-31; 9.19.

<sup>125</sup> *Not. Dign. Or.* 5.29 e 6.32.

<sup>126</sup> *Not. Dign. Or.* 5.34 e 40; 6.35-36 e 40; 7.25, 31-32, 34; 8.29.

tre *uexillationes comitatenses*, cui devono essere sommate altre sette unità (un reparto di *Comites*, quattro reggimenti di *catafractarii* e due di *equites*<sup>127</sup>) sottratte all'esercito occidentale e trasferite nell'impero romano d'Oriente<sup>128</sup>; nel breve arco di dodici anni la cavalleria orientale passò da ventotto a quarantatre *uexillationes*, beneficiando di un incremento pari al 53,5% della forza originaria. L'importanza fondamentale della cavalleria contro Goti e Unni emerge anche da un ultimo dato; il 72% di tutta la cavalleria orientale, così come lo 84,6% delle *uexillationes* nuove o forzosamente trasferite, era concentrato in Tracia e nei pressi di Costantinopoli (comprese le province nordoccidentali dell'Asia Minore). Questa ricostruzione risponde ai dubbi di Philip Rance circa le cause precise, che determinarono l'ascesa della cavalleria a discapito della fanteria nell'esercito tardoromano: tale processo rispecchia essenzialmente le scelte strategiche di Teodosio I<sup>129</sup>.

Le *annonae* e i doni per i Goti comportavano una spesa ingente e stabile, che fu ulteriormente aggravata dalla paga dei mercenari barbarici nelle guerre civili del 388 e del 394 d.C.; anche il potenziamento della cavalleria regolare contribuiva ad accrescere in misura sensibile i costi dell'apparato bellico<sup>130</sup>. Togliendo la sola corazza ai legionari e alla fanteria leggera d'assalto, l'importo globale delle spese militari era ridotto in misura cospicua, e il risparmio probabilmente compensava le nuove uscite almeno in misura parziale.

<sup>127</sup> *Not. Dign. Or.* 5.31 e 34; 6.35-36; 8.29; 9.19-20.

<sup>128</sup> Zos. 4.47.2. Cfr. anche Hoffmann (1969) 476-487; Colombo (2008b) 151-153 e nn. 227-233, e (2010) 97. Il trasferimento forzato è certo: quasi tutto l'esercito dell'*Illyricum* orientale, che proprio allora fu annesso all'impero d'Oriente, aveva sicuramente questa origine. Il numero complessivo delle unità coinvolte nel 391 può essere circoscritto, se si ammette che alcuni o parecchi reparti dei *comitatenses* occidentali (ad esempio, *Not. Dign. Or.* 5.46 e 57-59; 6.43 e 57-59) fossero già stati volontariamente ceduti da Graziano a Teodosio nel 379 d.C., per rimpiazzare almeno parzialmente i reggimenti dell'esercito orientale distrutti ad Adrianopoli. Ciò spiegherebbe la curiosa menzione dei *Κεῖλοι* in relazione alle truppe di Teodosio e alla guerra gotica da parte di Temistio (v. n. 164).

<sup>129</sup> Rance (2007) 349.

<sup>130</sup> L'aumento della pressione fiscale, le spese militari e le elargizioni ai barbari sono aspetti strettamente connessi durante tutto il regno di Teodosio I: Zos. 4.28.3-29.2 (cfr. Chrys., *Hom. de stat.* 16.3 = PG XLIX 165 e *C. Theod.* 2.29.2); 32.2-3; 39.5; 40.2; 41.1 (cfr. Lib., *Or.* 19-23; Chrys., *Hom. de stat.* 1-21; Soz. 7.23 = PG LXVII 1488-1489; Thdt., *Hist. Eccl.* 5.19 = PG LXXXII 1240); 56.1; 59.2 (l'episodio è certamente fittizio, ma l'opinione espressa per bocca dell'imperatore — τῆς στρατιωτικῆς χρεῖας πλειόνων δεομένης χρημάτων — appare assai verosimile sul piano storico). *C. Theod.* 12.1.80 (31 Marzo 387) e 9.45.1 (18 Ottobre 392 d.C.) provano in maniera indiretta l'accrescimento del carico fiscale.

Queste argomentazioni portano con sé anche una necessaria deduzione circa la data e il luogo dell'*Epitoma rei militaris*; infatti il confronto con il manuale di Maurizio suggerisce che Vegezio faccia riferimento alla situazione e alle caratteristiche dell'esercito orientale verso il 435 d.C., e il destinatario dell'opera sia Teodosio II, nonostante l'opinione parzialmente diversa di Michael Charles, che sostiene una datazione simile, ma pone Vegezio nell'impero romano d'Occidente e identifica il destinatario con Valentiniano III<sup>131</sup>. Pochi manoscritti menzionano uno specifico imperatore nella *inscriptio*: *ad Iustinianum*, che è un'ovvia interpolazione a carattere anacronistico, *ad Valentinianum* e *ad Theodosium*<sup>132</sup>. Anche le dediche *ad Theodosium* e *ad Valentinianum* possono essere spiegate come semplici e arbitrarie interpolazioni, l'una dovuta all'esaltazione di Teodosio I negli autori cristiani<sup>133</sup>, l'altra derivata dalla grande e perdurante fama di Valentiniano I, che era considerato un termine molto positivo di paragone alla pari con Traiano ancora sotto il regno di Teodorico<sup>134</sup>; nel secondo caso avremmo un palese anacronismo, che trascura il dato cronologico di Veg., *r. mil.* 1.20.3. Altrimenti la dedica *ad Theodosium* (presente nel Palatinus Latinus 909 e nel Vaticanus Latinus 4493, due dei manoscritti più antichi) potrebbe essere genuina e confermare l'ipotesi qui esposta; invece *ad Valentinianum* potrebbe avere sostituito la dedica originale *ad Theodosium* e indicare che l'opera, composta nell'impero romano d'Oriente verso il 435 d.C., cominciò a circolare in Occidente molto prima del 455 d.C. A favore della mia ipotesi posso citare dieci passi: Veg., *r. mil.* 1.20.2; 20.4; 21.3; 28.2–4; 28, 6; 3.10.13–14; 10.17; 26.36–37; 4.31.1 e 46.9. Ognuno di essi trova puntuale riscontro ovvero significativi paralleli nelle vicende storiche o nell'ambiente culturale dell'impero romano d'Oriente.

È falso che la menzione associata di Goti, Alani e Unni in Veg., *r. mil.* 1.20.2 *licet exemplo Gothorum et Alanorum Hunnorumque equitum arma profecerint* provi automaticamente la datazione teodosiana di Vegezio<sup>135</sup>; l'uso del perfetto, per enunciare l'ascesa della cavalleria romana a discapito della fanteria secondo l'*exemplum* delle tre tribù, è pienamente compatibile con l'ipotesi di Vegezio attivo circa quarant'anni dopo la morte di Teodosio I, poiché egli altrove impiega il medesimo tempo

<sup>131</sup> Charles (2007) 37 e 39-50 (contesto occidentale), *passim* (datazione e destinatario).

<sup>132</sup> Charles (2007) 30-34.

<sup>133</sup> Charles (2007) 31.

<sup>134</sup> *Anon. Val. p. post.* 60.

<sup>135</sup> Sirago (1961) 468-469; Barnes (1979) 256.



anche per vicende molto remote<sup>136</sup>. La trasformazione dell'esercito romano ha avuto certamente luogo durante il regno di Teodosio I; infatti le nostre fonti nominano i tre popoli associati sia nel 377-379 e nel 391-392 d.C., quando essi assalirono congiuntamente il territorio romano<sup>137</sup>, sia nel 388 e nel 394 d.C., quando essi fornirono insieme truppe per il corpo di spedizione contro gli usurpatori occidentali Magno Massimo ed Eugenio<sup>138</sup>. Ancora sotto Arcadio le bande degli Alani e degli Unni restavano una minaccia incombente sul basso Danubio<sup>139</sup>; proprio gli Unni inaugurarono il suo regno lanciando devastanti scorrerie contro le regioni orientali dell'Asia Minore e le province settentrionali della *dioecesis Orientis*<sup>140</sup>. Poi i Goti con gli Alani e gli Unni hanno continuato a influenzare le tattiche e l'orientamento strategico dell'esercito orientale anche durante il regno di Teodosio II. La costante presenza di Goti e di Alani nelle armate regolari di Teodosio II è provata indirettamente dai numerosi generali di origine gotica o alana al suo servizio: qui basta citare da un lato gli Alani Ardabur e suo figlio Aspar<sup>141</sup>, dall'altro i Goti Ariobindus<sup>142</sup>, Plinta<sup>143</sup> e Arnegisclus<sup>144</sup>. Essi rappresentavano la prima e la seconda generazione dei *foederati* teodosiani; ma anche l'afflusso di barbari transdanubiani proseguì nei decenni posteriori alla morte di Teodosio I, fatta eccezione per il breve periodo di reazione barbarofoba dopo l'eliminazione di Gainas e l'esecuzione di Frauita<sup>145</sup>. È

<sup>136</sup> Ad esempio, cfr. Veg., *r. mil.* 1 *praef.* 1-2; 1.5-6; 8.8-11; 10.3; 11.1; 12.1; 13.3; 15.4-5; 17.1; 18.1; 21.3; 28.1-3; 28.6; 28.8-9.

<sup>137</sup> Amm. 31.8.4 e 16.3 (377-378 d.C.); *Epit. de Caes.* 47.3; Auson., *Prec. cons. des.* 31-32; Pacato, *Pan. Lat.* 2.11.4 Mynors (378); Them., *Or.* 16.207C e *Cons. Const.* ad a. 379, 3 = *Chron. Min.* 1. 243 Mommsen (379); Claud., *In Ruf.* 1.306-353 e *De cons. Stil.* 1.94-115 (391-392 d.C.). Per quanto riguarda i due brani di Claudiano, una nuova interpretazione in Colombo (2008a) 304-319.

<sup>138</sup> Pacato, *Pan. Lat.* 2.32.4 Mynors (388; cfr. anche Ambr., *Epist.* 40.22); Io. Ant. frg. 187 = *FHG* IV 609 Müller (394). Nel secondo caso Socr. 5.25 = *PG* LXVII 652 registra la provenienza transdanubiana dei generici βαρβαροι al servizio di Teodosio.

<sup>139</sup> Claud., *In Ruf.* 2.270-271 e *In Eutr.* 2.338. Si noti che Claudiano usa spesso i sinonimi anacronistici ed eruditi *Gelonus/Geloni*, *Massagetes* e *Sarmata* al posto del comune etnonimo *Alani*: Colombo (2008a) 299-300, 304-305, 312-314.

<sup>140</sup> Claud., *In Ruf.* 2.28-35; *In Eutr.* 1.16-17 e 242-251; 2.151-153, 569-571, 574-575; Hier., *Epist.* 60.16 e 77.8; Philostorg. 11.8 = *PG* LXV 601 e 604. Cfr. inoltre Albert (1979) 621-645; Colombo (2008a) 316.

<sup>141</sup> *PLRE* II 137-138 e 164-169.

<sup>142</sup> *PLRE* II 145-146.

<sup>143</sup> *PLRE* II 892-893.

<sup>144</sup> *PLRE* II 151. Su base onomastica anche i generali Agintheus e Ansila (*ibid.*, 34 e 92) potrebbero essere Goti.

<sup>145</sup> Ma cfr. l'opinione molto diversa di Cameron & Long (1993) *passim*, soprattutto 323-333.

utile ricordare che nel 421-422 d.C. Ariobindus prese parte alle operazioni belliche contro i Persiani ricoprendo un grado molto significativo, cioè *comes foederatorum*. Tra il 434 e il 441 d.C. un problema cruciale nelle relazioni tra l'impero romano d'Oriente e il regno degli Unni fu proprio l'accoglienza e l'arruolamento di *φυγάδες* transdanubiani da parte del governo imperiale<sup>146</sup>. Questi transfughi non erano soltanto Unni in senso stretto, ma comprendevano certamente anche i loro sudditi, tra i quali c'erano appunto gli Ostrogoti e gli Alani<sup>147</sup>. Quindi l'osservazione di Veg., *r. mil.* 1.20.2 circa l'*exemplum* delle tre *gentes* era valida tanto per i tempi di Teodosio I, quando la trasformazione descritta ebbe luogo, quanto per l'epoca di suo nipote Teodosio II, quando Vegezio ne constatava le conseguenze.

Veg., *r. mil.* 1.20.4 *Sic detectis pectoribus et capitibus congressi contra Gothos milites nostri multitudine sagittariorum saepe deleti sunt*. Questo passo contiene un indizio testuale; infatti Vegezio qui allude alla battaglia di Adrianopoli, traendo spunto diretto da un'opera pubblicata nel 418 d.C., cioè le *Historiae aduersus paganos* di Paolo Orosio. La scarsa notizia del *Chronicon* di Girolamo su Adrianopoli e sulla morte di Valente costituisce l'ossatura della corrispondente narrazione di Orosio, che riprende singole parole e intere espressioni rielaborando il resto in chiave ampollosa, ma inserisce anche meri frutti della sua fantasia<sup>148</sup>. Il confronto puntuale con Girolamo e soprattutto Ammiano Marcellino evidenzia un punto fondamentale: le *nubes sagittarum* di Oros. 7.33.14 sono sicuramente una sua invenzione. Girolamo le ignora; Ammiano nomina

<sup>146</sup> Prisc. frgg. 1-3 = *FHG* IV 71-73 Müller.

<sup>147</sup> Zos. 5.26.4 (cfr. Oros. 7.37.3 e 12); Iord., *Get.* 199, 209, 252-253, 261, 265-266. Si noti che l'onomastica personale suffraga questa ricostruzione; infatti Attila portava un nome gotico, mentre i suoi figli Ellac e Hernac erano insigniti di nomi alani, così come l'ostrogoto Andag (Iord., *Get.* 209, 262 e 266).

<sup>148</sup> Hier., *Chron.* CCLXXXIX Olymp., Valentiniani et Valentis [XV] *Lacrimabile bellum in Thracia. In quo deserente equitum praesidio Romanae legiones a Gothis cinctae usque ad internecionem caesae sunt: ipse imperator Valens cum sagitta saucius fugeret et ob dolorem nimium saepe equo laberetur, ad cuiusdam uillulae casam deportatus est, quo persequentibus barbaris et incensa domo sepultura quoque caruit*, 249 Helm; Oros. 7.33.13-15 *Itaque quinto decimo imperii sui anno lacrimabile illud bellum in Thracia cum Gothis iam tunc exercitatione uirium rerumque abundantia instructissimis gessit. Vbi primo statim impetu Gothorum perturbatae Romanorum equitum turmae nuda peditum deseruere praesidia. Mox legiones peditum undique equitatu hostium cinctae ac primum nubibus sagittarum obrutae, deinde, cum amentes metu sparsim per deuia cogerentur, funditus caesae gladiis insequentum contisque perierunt. Ipse imperator cum sagitta saucius uersusque in fugam aegre in cuiusdam uillulae casam deportatus lateret, ab insequentibus hostibus deprehensus, subiecto igne consumptus est et, quo magis testimonium punitionis eius et diuinae indignationis terribili posteris esset exemplo, etiam communi caruit sepultura*.

*iacula, sagittae* e generici *tela*, ma non assegna speciale rilievo a questa fase della battaglia<sup>149</sup>. Sembra molto probabile che le *nubes sagittarum* siano riconducibili alle circostanze della morte di Valente, che fu gravemente ferito ovvero ucciso sul colpo da una freccia<sup>150</sup>. Orosio inoltre omette completamente il lungo e violentissimo combattimento corpo a corpo, cui Ammiano dedica largo spazio<sup>151</sup>. Il dettaglio dei *detecta corpora et capita* in Vegezio, per quanto riguarda la battaglia di Adrianopoli, è confutato in maniera decisiva ancora da Ammiano. Lo storiografo infatti afferma esplicitamente che furono lo schieramento troppo stipato e la scarsa visuale dei fanti romani ad accrescere la letale efficacia delle armi da getto barbariche; egli poi ricorda che la resistenza disperata della fanteria romana fu indebolita non soltanto da fattori ambientali (caldo) e fisiologici (fame e sete), ma anche dal peso dell'armamento difensivo<sup>152</sup>. Le drammatiche e devastanti *nubes sagittarum* di Orosio sono la fonte diretta di Vegezio per la *multitudo sagittariorum*, con la quale i Goti avrebbero annientato più volte i Romani privi di elmi e di corazze; Vegezio attraverso la consapevole reminiscenza di Oros. 7.33.14 evocava in modo strumentale e moltiplicava arbitrariamente (*saepe*) la memoria traumatica di Adrianopoli, per aumentare al massimo grado l'efficacia retorica e l'impatto emotivo delle sue argomentazioni. Ciò significa che Vegezio scrisse il libro I dell'*Epitoma rei militaris* sicuramente dopo la pubblicazione delle *Historiae aduersus paganos*<sup>153</sup>.

Veg., r. mil. 1.21.3 *Sed huius rei [scil. munitionis castrorum] scientia prorsus intercidit; nemo enim iam diu ductis fossis praefixisque sudibus castra constituit. Sic diurno uel nocturno superuentu equitum barbarorum multos exercitus scimus frequenter adflictos; 3.10.13-14 e 17 Dicat aliquis: multi anni sunt, quibus nullus fossa aggere ualloeque mansurum circumdat exercitum. Respondebitur: si fuisset ista cautela, nihil nocturni aut diurni superuentus hostium nocere potuissent [...] Haec ex usu librisque antea seruabantur, sed omissa diu nemo quaesiuit, quia uigentibus pacis officiis procul aberat necessitas belli*. Due punti si rivelano fondamentali, cioè l'uso iterato dell'avv. temporale *diu* e la duplice allusione

<sup>149</sup> Amm. 31.13.1-2 *confixis quibusdam rotatis ictibus iaculorum et sagittarum [...] Qua causa tela undique mortem uibrantia destinata cadebant et noxia, quod nec prouideri poterant nec cauere*.

<sup>150</sup> Oltre a Girolamo (v. n. 148), questo dettaglio figura anche in Amm. 31.13.12.

<sup>151</sup> Amm. 31.13.3-7.

<sup>152</sup> Amm. 31.13. 2 e 7. Cfr. anche Lib., *Or.* 24.5.

<sup>153</sup> Un'interpretazione alquanto diversa dei tre brani in Charles (2008) 222-229.

ai *superuentus* dei barbari. Attraverso la narrazione di Ammiano Marcellino sappiamo bene che l'esercito romano della Tarda Antichità era solito costruire *castra* temporanei durante le marce fino all'Agosto 378 d.C.; lo storiografo menziona ora tutte e tre le difese tipiche dei *castra* provvisori, cioè *uallum*, *fossa* e *sudes*<sup>154</sup>, ora il *uallum* e la *fossa*<sup>155</sup>, ora soltanto le *sudes*<sup>156</sup> o il *uallum*<sup>157</sup>, ovvero generici *munimenta*<sup>158</sup>. Talvolta nel latino ammiano *uallum* assume la pregnante funzione di sinonimo metonimico per *castra*, implicando che essi fossero difesi almeno da un muro in terra<sup>159</sup>; anche l'espressione *uallatis opere tumultuario castris* sottintende la natura fortificata degli accampamenti temporanei<sup>160</sup>. L'ultimo esempio in ordine cronologico riguarda proprio Valente poco prima della disastrosa battaglia di Adrianopoli: i *castra* dell'imperatore, costruiti presso i sobborghi della stessa città, erano difesi da un *uallum* rinforzato con *fossa* e *sudes*<sup>161</sup>. Sembra evidente che l'autore di un'opera composta durante la permanenza di Teodosio I in Italia (388-391 d.C.) non avrebbe potuto in nessun modo usare l'avv. temporale *diu*, per designare un breve intervallo di dieci o dodici anni; soprattutto pare ancora più chiaro che le due allusioni ai devastanti effetti dei *superuentus* barbarici per la mancanza di opere difensive avrebbero rappresentato uno schiaffo in piena faccia a Teodosio I, che nel 380 d.C. aveva subito un'umiliante e terribile disfatta a opera dei Tervingi appunto per questo motivo<sup>162</sup>. Se invece datiamo l'*Epitoma* verso il 435 d.C., entrambi i punti sono perfettamente compatibili con il periodo di Teodosio II; anzi la menzione dei *diurni superuentus* (omologa all'uso dell'anonimo *imperator* in Veg., *r. mil.* 1.20.4) avrebbe la funzione specifica di attenuare pudicamente l'allusione alle disavventure belliche di Teodosio I,

<sup>154</sup> Amm. 24.5.12 e 25.3.1 (363 d.C.).

<sup>155</sup> Amm. 16.12.12 (357 d.C.); 18.2.11 (359 d.C.); 20.11.6 (361 d.C.).

<sup>156</sup> Amm. 25.6.5 (le pareti di una *conuallis* vennero adoperate a mo' di *uallum*).

<sup>157</sup> Amm. 24.4.6 (363 d.C.: addirittura *duplex*).

<sup>158</sup> Amm. 15.4.9 (355 d.C.).

<sup>159</sup> Amm. 19.11.8 (359 d.C.); 25.1.2 e 6.1 (363 d.C.); 27.2.5 (366 d.C.); 31.9.1 (377 d.C.). Cfr. anche 16.11.6 e 14. La sinonimia *uallum* = *castra* venne riconosciuta già da Müller (1905) 614.

<sup>160</sup> Amm. 24.5.3 (363 d.C.).

<sup>161</sup> Amm. 31.12.4.

<sup>162</sup> Zos. 4.31.3-4. Ammettendo che Teodosio I fosse il destinatario dell'*Epitoma rei militaris*, dovremmo concludere che egli fosse un lettore alquanto distratto o parecchio ottuso, visto che nel 391 d.C. i Goti di Alarico gli inflissero una sanguinosa sconfitta nelle medesime circostanze (Zos. 4.49.1-2: cfr. Claud., *Goth.* 524 e *De VI cons. Hon.* 107-108). Tutto ciò sfugge completamente a Milner (1993) 22 n. 3 e 84 n. 2.

che per due volte fu sorpreso e sbaragliato dai Goti proprio con un attacco notturno a sorpresa<sup>163</sup>.

Veg., *r. mil.* 1.28.2-4 *Neque enim degenerauit in hominibus Martius calor nec effetae sunt terrae, quae Lacedaemonios, quae Athenienses, quae Marsos, quae Samnites, quae Paelignos, quae ipsos progenuere Romanos. Nonne Epirotae armis plurimum aliquando ualuerunt? Nonne Macedones ac Thessali superatis Persis usque ad Indiam bellando penetrauerunt? Dacos autem et Moesos et Thracas in tantum bellicosos semper fuisse manifestum est, ut ipsum Martem fabulae apud eos natum esse confirment.* Una differenza sostanziale ripartisce i dodici etnonimi in due gruppi di pari numero, dei quali il primo (*Lacedaemonii, Athenienses, Marsi, Samnites, Paeligni, ipsi Romani*) ha valore puramente antiquario. *Lacedaemonii* e *Athenienses* evocano le glorie militari della Grecia classica; *Marsi, Samnites, Paeligni* e *ipsi Romani* alludono alle vicende belliche della Repubblica romana. Poi il secondo gruppo (*Epirotae, Macedones, Thessali, Daci, Moesi, Thraces*) si divide in due sottogruppi di uguale consistenza. Una duplice funzione è svolta da *Epirotae, Macedones* e *Thessali*, che costituiscono il tramite tra le nozioni antiquarie e la realtà contemporanea; essi da un lato fanno riferimento implicito alle prestigiose figure di Pirro e di Alessandro Magno, dall'altro simboleggiano le province meridionali dell'*Illyricum* orientale (*Epirus noua* e *uetus, Macedonia, Macedonia salutaris, Thessalia*). I tre popoli dell'altro sottogruppo hanno carattere esclusivamente attuale, poiché corrispondono a tutte le province dell'*Illyricum* orientale e della *dioecesis Thraciarum* largamente sfruttate per l'arruolamento di soldati indigeni: i *Daci* ovviamente indicano *Dacia ripensis* e *Dacia mediterranea*, i *Moesi* riassumono sicuramente *Moesia I* e *II*, ma probabilmente anche *Praeualitana, Dardania* e *Scythia*, infine i *Thraces* richiamano *Thracia, Haemimontus, Rhodope* e *Europa*<sup>164</sup>. La singolare assenza delle popolazioni microasiatiche e mediorientali è conforme al τόπος tradizionale, che attribuiva maggiore bellicosità agli Europei<sup>165</sup>. Abbiamo pochissimi dati sulla leva

<sup>163</sup> V. i passi di Zosimo citati nella n. precedente.

<sup>164</sup> Them., *Or.* 14.181 A nomina appunto Δᾱκοί, Θρᾱκες e Ἰλλυριοί; 34.21 menziona Θρᾱκες, Κελτοί (= Galli, ovvero Galli e Germani: cfr. 3.43C; 4.57B; 9.125C; 16.207A; 22.266A; 27.335B; 30.349C) e Ἰλλυριοί. Cfr. anche *Expos.* 50 *Thracia prouincia [...] maximos habens uiros et fortes in bello; propter quod et frequenter inde milites tolluntur.*

<sup>165</sup> Questa teoria compare anche in Veg., *r. mil.* 1.2.3-5. Le eccezioni sono pochissime: ad esempio, cfr. *Expos.* 41 *Galatia prouincia [...] aliquotiens uero et milites bonos dominis praestat* e 43 *Armenia minor, quam equitem et sagittarios praestare aiunt utiles*

dei provinciali nelle armate orientali del V secolo d.C., ma essi confermano questa interpretazione. I quattrocento soldati che arrestarono Giovanni Crisostomo nel 404 d.C., erano appunto Traci recentemente arruolati<sup>166</sup>. Anche gli imperatori Marciano e Leone I, già *tribuni* dell'esercito orientale, erano originari della Tracia<sup>167</sup>, così come Giovanni il Gobbo, nato a Selymbria e *magister militum praesentalis* di Anastasio I<sup>168</sup>; il futuro imperatore Giustino I nacque a Bederiana, un villaggio della *Dardania*, e fu arruolato negli *excubitores* con i suoi compaesani Zimarchus e Ditybistus<sup>169</sup>. Vale la pena di sottolineare che ancora sotto Giustiniano la *dioecesis Thraciarum* e l'*Illyricum* orientale fornivano molte reclute e numerosi reggimenti agli eserciti campali dell'Oriente<sup>170</sup>.

Veg., *r. mil.* 1.28.6 *longae securitas pacis* (cfr. 1.7.8 *longa pax*). Dopo l'eliminazione di Gainas a opera di Frauitta nel 400 d.C.<sup>171</sup>, gli eserciti di Costantinopoli furono impegnati saltuariamente in guerre brevi e circoscritte. L'attacco dell'unno Uldin contro le province danubiane nel 408-409 d.C.<sup>172</sup>, la guerra romano-persiana del 421-422 d.C.<sup>173</sup> e la spedizione italica del 425 d.C.<sup>174</sup> sono i principali conflitti, che l'impero romano d'Oriente affrontò prima di impegnare le sue truppe contro i Vandali nel

*ad bellum*; Them., *Or.* 15.189 D (Armeni e Iberi). L'impero romano d'Oriente sembra avere cominciato a impiegare il potenziale bellico degli Isauri su larga scala soltanto nella seconda guerra contro Attila: Prisc. frg. 8 = *FHG* IV 94 Müller.

<sup>166</sup> Pall., *Dial.* 9 = *PG* XLVII 33.

<sup>167</sup> *PLRE* II 663 e 714. La stessa esistenza di una tradizione secondaria circa l'origine illirica di entrambi prova indirettamente che agli occhi dei contemporanei *dioecesis Thraciarum* e *Illyricum* orientale rappresentavano le terre di arruolamento per antonomasia.

<sup>168</sup> Io. Ant. frg. 214b.5 = *FHG* V.1 30-31 Müller.

<sup>169</sup> Procop., *Anecd.* 6.2; Io. Ant. frg. 214b.5 = *FHG* V.1 31 Müller.

<sup>170</sup> Procop., *Pers.* 2.19.32 e 21.4; *Goth.* 1.7.26-27; 2.5.1; 11.5; 12.26; 13.17; 3.10.1-3; 6.10; 11.11-16; 12.4; 30.6; 39.9-10 e 17-18; 4.26.10-11. Cfr. anche *Vand.* 1.11.5-10: nel 533 d.C. su diciannove ufficiali e generali al comando dei reparti inviati contro i Vandali in Africa, uno era originario della Mesopotamia, uno Unno, uno Epirota di Dyr-rachium (perciò in termini geografici e amministrativi Ἰλλυριτὸς οὐ ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν) e quasi tutti gli altri τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Θράκης χωρία ὄκουν. Lo stesso Belisario era nato a Γερμανία, ἡ Θρακῶν τε καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν μεταξὺ κεῖται (*Vand.* 1.11.21). Altri generali, ufficiali e soldati o *bucellarii* traci: *Pers.* 1.12.23; 13.5; 15.15; 2.30.29; *Vand.* 2.23.3 e 28.3; *Goth.* 1.5.3; 2.2.10; 13.14; 26.3; 3.11.37 e 30.6; 4.9.5. Nazares, generale dei reparti illirici e Ἰλλυριτὸς γένος, viene menzionato in *Goth.* 3.11.18; inoltre conosciamo Stephanus di Dyr-rachium, *bucellarius* di Narsete, e Germanus di Bederiana, generale incaricato di difendere il Chersoneso tracico (Agath. 1.17.3 e 5.21.2).

<sup>171</sup> V. n. 187.

<sup>172</sup> Soz. 9.5 = *PG* LXVII 1605 e 1608. Cfr. anche *C. Theod.* 5.6.3 (12 Aprile 409).

<sup>173</sup> Socr. 7.18 e 20 = *PG* LXVII 773, 776-777, 780-781.

<sup>174</sup> Olympiod. frg. 46 = *FHG* IV 68 Müller; Philostorg. 12.13 = *PG* LXV 621; Socr. 7.23 = *PG* LXVII 789 e 792.

431 d.C.<sup>175</sup>; inoltre possiamo ricordare anche le ripetute scorrerie dei nomadi libici e degli Isauri al principio del V secolo<sup>176</sup>, così come l'incursione degli Unni ai danni della dioecesis tracia nel 422 d.C.<sup>177</sup>. Tale situazione, rispetto alle terribili e devastanti peripezie dell'Occidente nel medesimo periodo, meritava pienamente di essere riassunta con l'espressione enfatica *longa pax*. Proprio la totale e umiliante disfatta delle truppe orientali per mano dei Vandali in Africa settentrionale sembra essere l'evento bellico, che diede lo spunto diretto a Vegezio per la composizione del suo trattato.

Veg., *r. mil.* 3.26.36-37 *ut ad peritiam sagittandi, quam in serenitate tua Persa miratur, ad equitandi scientiam uel decorem, quae Hunnorum Alanorumque natio uelit imitari, si possit, ad currendi uelocitatem, quam Saracenus Indusque non aequat [...] regula proeliandi, immo uincendi artificium iungeretur*. I cinque popoli di Vegezio rinviano all'ambiente geografico e culturale dell'Oriente; anche se è evidente che questo brano contiene τόποι etnici, essi trovano termini stringenti di confronto nei panegirici rivolti agli imperatori d'Oriente. Facendo riferimento a Valente nel 376 d.C., Temistio menziona ὁ Γέτης (= Tervingi/Goti danubiani), ὁ Πέρσης, ὁ Ἀρμένιος, ὁ Ἰβηρ e ὁ σκηνίτης (= *Sarraceni* = Arabi)<sup>178</sup>, che simboleggiano tutte le operazioni belliche dell'*Augustus* orientale fino a quell'anno. Rivolgendosi a Teodosio nel 389 d.C., Pacato da un lato nomina le tre gentes già nemiche dei Romani (*quidquid atterit Gothus, quidquid rapit Chunus, quidquid aufert Halanus, id olim desiderabit Arcadius*) e ora loro alleate (*Gothus ille et Chunus et Halanus respondebat ad nomen et alternabat excubias et notari infrequens uerebatur*)<sup>179</sup>, dall'altro mescola le vittorie vere o presunte dell'imperatore a etnonimi topici, che risultano pertinenti al solo impero d'Oriente (*Non Oceano Indus, non frigore Bosphoranus, non Arabs medio sole securus est; quo uix peruenerat nomen ante Romanum, accedit imperium. Dicamne ego receptos seruitum Gothos castris tuis militem, terris sufficere cultorem? Dicam a rebellibus Sarracenis poenas polluti foederis expetitas? Dicam interdictum Scythis Tanain et imbelles arcus etiam fugientis Albani?*)<sup>180</sup>. I medesimi etnonimi

<sup>175</sup> Procop., *Vand.* 1.3.35-36.

<sup>176</sup> Synes., *Catast. mai.* passim; Philostorg. 11.8 = *PG* LXV 604-605; Hier., *Epist.* 114.1; Soz. 8.25 = *PG* LXVII 1580-1581; Zos. 5.25.1-2 e 4; Marcell. ad a. 405 = *Chron. Min.* 2.68 Mommsen.

<sup>177</sup> Marcell. ad a. 422, 3 = *Chron. Min.* 2.75 Mommsen.

<sup>178</sup> Them., *Or.* 13.166 C.

<sup>179</sup> Pacato, *Pan. Lat.* 2.11.4 e 32.4 Mynors.

<sup>180</sup> Pacato, *Pan. Lat.* 2.22.2-4 Mynors. L'etnonimo *Scythae* e l'idronimo *Tanais* alludono in termini iperbolici alla grande vittoria di Promotus sui Greuthungi di Odotheus (v. nn. 59 e 197).



ricorrono in relazione a eventi bellici o relazioni diplomatiche durante il regno di Teodosio II. Nella guerra del 421-422 le truppe orientali avevano affrontato i Persiani e i Σαρακηνοί<sup>181</sup>. Le orde degli Unni avevano attaccato le province danubiane nel 408-409 e nel 422<sup>182</sup>. L'impero d'Oriente aveva stipulato un *foedus* con gli Unni già ai tempi di Rua; dopo che l'assiduo reclutamento dei sudditi unnici nell'esercito orientale era diventato un problema spinoso, un nuovo trattato fu concluso con i suoi successori Attila e Bleda nel 434<sup>183</sup>. Si noti che la crisi bellica del 441 d.C. vide ancora la partecipazione di Persiani, Arabi e Unni<sup>184</sup>, mentre nel 448 d.C. viene ricordato il dono di una tigre addomesticata a Teodosio II da parte della *prouincia India*<sup>185</sup>. Se teniamo bene a mente la subordinazione politica e militare degli Alani agli Unni fino agli anni Cinquanta del V secolo d.C., appare evidente che negli anni 430 i cinque etnonimi erano allo stesso tempo topici e attuali sia per il destinatario principale dell'opera, cioè Teodosio II, sia per i circoli governativi di Costantinopoli.

Veg., *r. mil.* 4.31.1 *iam dudum pacato mari cum barbaris nationibus agitur terrestre certamen*. Il contesto è molto chiaro: i popoli barbari sono il nemico, che non è più necessario affrontare per mare. Quindi non si può vedere un'allusione alla guerra civile del 324 d.C. tra Costantino e Licinio. Se qui *iam dudum* non abbraccia un periodo di parecchi secoli<sup>186</sup>, il *terminus post quem* può essere identificato soltanto con la disfatta navale di Gainas davanti al Chersoneso, la quale ebbe luogo nel 400 d.C.<sup>187</sup>. Fino al 435 d.C. la potenza navale e la pirateria dei Vandali era ancora un fenomeno imprevedibile; infatti essi, ancora poco prima del loro sbarco sul suolo africano, *uti nauibus nesciebant*<sup>188</sup>. L'attacco

<sup>181</sup> V. n. 173.

<sup>182</sup> V. nn. 172 e 177.

<sup>183</sup> Prisc. frg. 1 = *FHG* IV 71-72 Müller.

<sup>184</sup> Marcell. ad a. 441, 1 *Persae, Saraceni, Tzanni, Isauri, Hunni finibus suis egressi Romanorum sola uastauerunt* = *Chron. Min.* 2.80 Mommsen. Cfr. anche Prisc. frg. 6 = *FHG* IV 76 Müller.

<sup>185</sup> Marcell. ad a. 448, 1 = *Chron. Min.* 2.83 Mommsen.

<sup>186</sup> L'avv. temporale *dudum* ha un significato molto variabile nell'*Epitoma*. Esso compare anche in Veg., *r. mil.* 1.17.1 e 2 *praef.* 8: nel primo caso indica un'età molto anteriore a Diocleziano e Massimiano, mentre la seconda occorrenza evoca la presentazione del libro I all'imperatore. Perciò sembra ammissibile che *dudum* qui faccia riferimento a un episodio accaduto circa trentacinque anni prima del libro IV.

<sup>187</sup> Socr. 6.6 = *PG* LXVII 680-681; Soz. 8.4 = *PG* LXVII 1525 e 1528; Zos. 5.20.1-21.4; Marcell. ad a. 400 = *Chron. Min.* 2.66 Mommsen *Bellum nauale contra Gainam tyrannum inter Cherronesum et Hellespontum gestum est: multa milia Gothorum caesa uel demersa sunt*. Cfr. anche *Not. urb. Const.* 5.11.

<sup>188</sup> Prosp., *Epit.* 1294 = *Chron. Min.* 1.472 Mommsen. *Contra Moss* (1973) 723-728; Milner (1993) 132 n. 2; Baatz & Bockius (1997) 9.

dei Vandali contro le Baleari, databile verso il 425 d.C., fu un episodio isolato e minore<sup>189</sup>; le scorrerie piratesche dei Vandali investirono le zone costiere del Mediterraneo occidentale a partire dal 437 d.C.<sup>190</sup>, concentrandosi soprattutto ai danni della Sicilia nel 438 e nel 440 d.C.<sup>191</sup>, ma poi anche il Mediterraneo orientale subì i loro attacchi<sup>192</sup>. *C. Theod.* 9.40.24 viene usualmente citata al fine di provare che i Vandali possedevano una flotta già nel 419 d.C., dato che nomina *qui conficiendi naues incognitam ante peritiam barbaris tradiderunt*; ma ci sono due dati, che confutano decisamente questa lettura. Il destinatario e la *subscriptio* individuano la pertinenza della legge all'impero romano d'Oriente; infatti la legge è indirizzata al *praefectus praetorio Orientis* Monaxius e risulta *data Constantinopoli*. La menzione del vescovo Asclepiade, che era presule della *Chersonesitana ciuitas* (= Chersonesus/Sevastopol'<sup>193</sup>) e ottenne con la sua *petitio* l'indulgenza imperiale per i collaborazionisti romani, indica che essi erano sicuramente abitanti del Bosforo cimmerio (= Crimea); perciò gli ignoti barbari vivevano necessariamente lungo la costa settentrionale del Mar Nero<sup>194</sup>.

Veg., *r. mil.* 4.46.9 *De lusoriis, quae in Danubio agrarias cotidianis tutantur excubiis, reticendum puto, quia artis amplius in his frequentior usus inuenit quam uetus doctrina monstauerat*. Se il destinatario dell'*Epitoma* fosse Teodosio I, qui dovremmo constatare un atteggiamento molto bizzarro da parte di Vegezio; egli ometterebbe anche un minimo accenno alla grande vittoria di Promotus sui Greuthungi/Ostrogoti<sup>195</sup>, benché le *lusoriae* del basso Danubio avessero sostenuto un ruolo fondamentale nel corso della battaglia<sup>196</sup>, e la propaganda ufficiale avesse rivendicato la gloria dell'impresa per Teodosio stesso<sup>197</sup>. Le espressioni *artis*

<sup>189</sup> Hyd. 86 = *Chron. Min.* 2.21 Mommsen. Questa fonte menziona anche la *Mauritania*, ma non è chiaro se anticipi gli eventi successivi, cioè l'invasione dell'Africa romana appunto attraverso la *Tingitania*, o riferisca un'incursione anteriore al passaggio definitivo dei Vandali in Africa settentrionale.

<sup>190</sup> Prosp., *Epit.* 1330 = *Chron. Min.* 1.476 Mommsen.

<sup>191</sup> Prosp., *Epit.* 1332 e 1342 = *Chron. Min.* 1.476 e 478 Mommsen; Hyd. 120 = *Chron. Min.* 2.23 Mommsen. Nel 445 d.C. una banda di Vandali raggiunse e attaccò addirittura la *Gallaecia*: Hyd. 131 = *Chron. Min.* 2.24 Mommsen.

<sup>192</sup> Prisc. frg. 6 = *FHG IV* 76 Müller. Cfr. anche Marcell. ad a. 438, 1 = *Chron. Min.* 2.79 Mommsen.

<sup>193</sup> L'identificazione è certa grazie alla presenza dell'agg. geografico (*in uexillatione Chersonessitana*) e dell'etnonimo (*ad decretum Chersonessitanorum*) in *CIL III* 13750.

<sup>194</sup> Nella medesima area casi analoghi si erano già verificati durante le invasioni gotiche del III secolo d.C.: Zos. 1.31.1 e 3; 32.2-3; 33.1 e 3; 34.1-2.

<sup>195</sup> V. n. 59.

<sup>196</sup> Zos. 4.39.1-3.

<sup>197</sup> Pacato, *Pan. Lat.* 2.22.3 Mynors; Claud., *De IV cons. Hon.* 623-633; *Cons. Const.* ad a. 386, 1 = *Chron. Min.* 1.244 Mommsen; Hyd. 12 = *Chron. Min.* 2.15 Mommsen.

*amplius e frequentior usus* sono tanto vaghe e dimesse, da suonare terribilmente stonate in relazione a questo successo. Per esse la legislazione militare di Teodosio II fornisce due termini di riscontro omogenei e coerenti tanto a livello cronologico quanto sul piano geografico; infatti due leggi danno istruzioni circa la cura e la riparazione delle *lusoriae* danubiane. *C. Theod.* 7.17.1 fu emanata il 28 Gennaio 412 d.C. ed è indirizzata al *magister militum per Thracias* Costante; qui il *limes Mysiacus* e il *limes Scythicus*, cioè *Moesia II* e *Scythia*, sono nominati esplicitamente<sup>198</sup>. *Nou. Theod.* 24 venne promulgata il 12 Settembre 443 d.C. e al §5 elenca tutti i *limites* orientali; il *Thracicus* (= *Moesia II* e *Scythia*) e l'*Illyricus* (= *Pannonia II*, *Moesia I* e *Dacia ripensis*) sono evidentemente connessi con la menzione delle *lusoriae* ai §§1 e 5. La prima legge può essere messa in diretta relazione con la riorganizzazione dei due *limites* dopo l'invasione di Uldin; la seconda certamente riflette la necessità pressante di riportare i *limitanei* a un buon livello di efficienza, dopo che la durissima guerra con gli Unni e la crisi militare del 441 d.C. avevano rivelato i limiti e le carenze dell'esercito orientale. Il brano di Vegezio trova posto tra le due leggi negli ultimi anni di pace sul medio e basso Danubio, quando le *cotidianae excubiae* costituivano la sola attività e l'unico merito delle flotte fluviali.

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Questa vittoria offrì a Teodosio e Arcadio l'occasione di celebrare un ingresso trionfale a Costantinopoli il 12 Ottobre 386 d.C. (*Cons. Const.* ad a. 386, 2 = *Chron. Min.* 1.244 Mommsen); inoltre essa fu commemorata dalla colonna coclide di Teodosio (v. n. 73).

<sup>198</sup> Sul contenuto di *C. Theod.* 7.17.1 un altro punto di vista in Baatz & Bockius (1997) 33 e 35: "Er besass anscheinend genauere Kenntnisse der Donaufflotte, da er sie ausdrücklich nennt. Die *Lusoriae* der spätrömischen Donaufflotte werden auch in einem Erlass Kaiser Theodosius II. aus dem Jahr 412 n.Chr. behandelt, der demnach ungefähr aus der Zeit des Vegetius stammt".

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